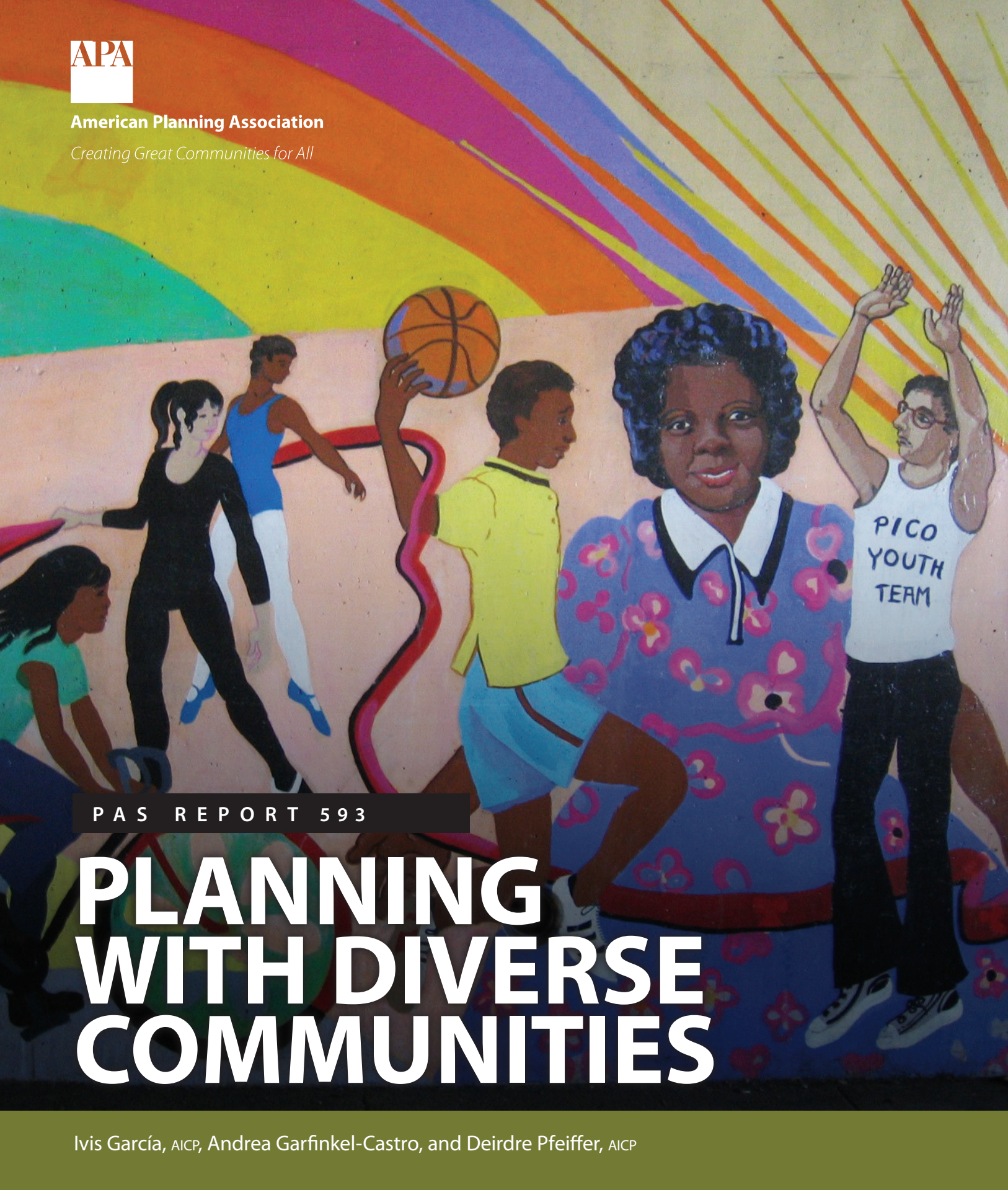




American Planning Association

Creating Great Communities for All



PAS REPORT 593

PLANNING WITH DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

Ivis García, AICP, Andrea Garfinkel-Castro, and Deirdre Pfeiffer, AICP

The American Planning Association provides leadership in the development of vital communities for all by advocating excellence in planning, promoting education and resident empowerment, and providing our members with the tools and support necessary to ethically meet the challenges of growth and change.

Since 1949, the American Planning Association's Planning Advisory Service has provided planners with expert research, authoritative information on best practices and innovative solutions, and practical tools to help them manage on-the-job challenges. PAS Reports are produced in the Research Department of APA. James M. Drinan, JD, Chief Executive Officer; David C. Rouse, FAICP, Managing Director of Research and Advisory Services; Ann F. Dilleuth, AICP, Editor. APA membership includes access to all PAS publications, including PAS Reports, PAS Memo, and PAS QuickNotes. Learn more at planning.org/pas. Email: pasreports@planning.org.

©January 2019 American Planning Association, which has offices at 205 N. Michigan Ave., Suite 1200, Chicago, IL 60601-5927, and 1030 15th St., NW, Suite 750 West, Washington, DC 20005-1503; planning.org. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means without permission in writing from APA.

ISBN: 978-1-61190-201-3

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Ivis García, AICP, PHD, is an assistant professor in the City and Metropolitan Planning department at the University of Utah. Her interests lie in the areas of housing, community development, and community engagement. She has spent time as a planner in Albuquerque, New Mexico; San Francisco; Springfield, Missouri; Washington, D.C.; and Chicago. She was also vice-chair of the planning commission in Salt Lake City. García is a fellow and board member of the Asset Based Community Development Institute at DePaul University, Chicago, where she works with other consultants to facilitate the coownership of plans between community residents and institutions nationwide. García earned her PhD in urban planning and policy from the University of Illinois at Chicago. She holds dual master's degrees from the University of New Mexico in community and regional planning and Latin American studies and a bachelor's degree in environmental sciences from Inter-American University in Puerto Rico.

Andrea Garfinkel-Castro is a doctoral candidate in the Metropolitan Planning, Policy, and Design program at the University of Utah. She is developing a long-term transportation research project engaging planning faculty and students around the world to explore ways to implement low-cost safety measures to protect the world's most vulnerable pedestrians—those who are poor. Garfinkel-Castro is also conducting theoretical research that explores planning culture and the ways planners are adapting to the changing needs of communities in the face of evolving demographics. Using a cultural lens, she is exploring the implicit assumptions and beliefs planners use to make decisions about how they plan. She teaches skills development in research methods and professional planning communication, as well as courses about public realm space, walkability, and pedestrian safety.

Deirdre Pfeiffer, AICP, PHD, is an associate professor in the School of Geographical Sciences and Urban Planning at Arizona State University. She is a housing planning scholar with expertise on housing as a cause and effect of growing social inequality and the role of housing planning in meeting the needs of diverse social groups. Pfeiffer currently is exploring the interconnections between housing and health, the housing experiences of millennials and seniors, and the effects of single-family rentals on neighborhoods. She also is deeply committed to community partnerships to help solve pressing housing issues in Arizona. Her recent collaborators include Vitalyst Health Foundation, the Arizona Partnership for Healthy Communities, the Arizona Housing Alliance's Mobile Housing Working Group, and the Southwest Fair Housing Council. Pfeiffer holds a master's degree and PhD in urban planning from the University of California–Los Angeles.

ON THE COVER

Community mural in the historically multiracial Pico neighborhood of Santa Monica, California (Deirdre Pfeiffer)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 3

CHAPTER 1 THE IMPORTANCE OF PLANNING WITH DIVERSE COMMUNITIES 8

- Demographic Changes 9
- The Planner's Responsibility 14
- Toward Culturally Competent Places and Planners 15
- Planners as Allies to Communities of Color 18
- About This Report 18

CHAPTER 2 UNDERSTANDING RACIAL AND ETHNIC INEQUALITY 22

- Racial and Ethnic Segregation 23
- Issues Affecting Immigrant Communities 31
- Conclusion 37

CHAPTER 3 DIVERSE PLACES AND PLANNING CHALLENGES 38

- Diverse Suburbs 39
- Gentrifying Central City Neighborhoods 41
- Planning Challenges 44
- Conclusion 50

CHAPTER 4 ENGAGING DIVERSE COMMUNITIES 52

- What Engagement Is and Why We Do It 53
- Community Engagement Approaches 55
- Overcoming Barriers to Engagement 63
- Engaging With Diverse Communities 71
- Conclusion 74

CHAPTER 5 TOOLS FOR PLANNING WITH DIVERSITY 76

- Expanding Economic Opportunities 77
- Activating Mobility 86
- Supporting Housing Options 89
- Advancing Health and Safety 100
- Enhancing Placemaking 107
- Conclusion 112

CHAPTER 6 TOWARD A MORE DIVERSE AND EQUITABLE FUTURE 114

- What We Have Learned 115
- Where We Go Next 117
- Final Thoughts 119

REFERENCES 124

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 140

The Shifting Demographic Landscape

The United States is becoming more ethnically, racially, and culturally diverse, bringing both opportunities and challenges. **PAS Report 593, *Planning With Diverse Communities***, offers the information and tools planners need to better engage people of color in planning and improve quality of life for everyone in their communities.

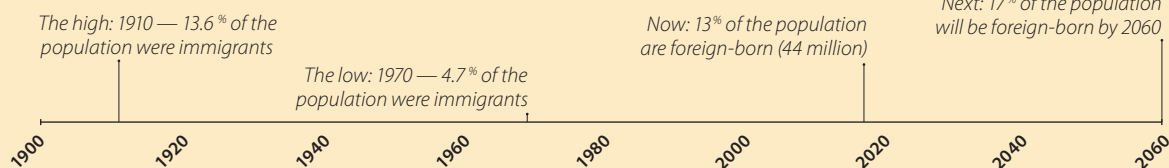


A Majority-Minority Nation

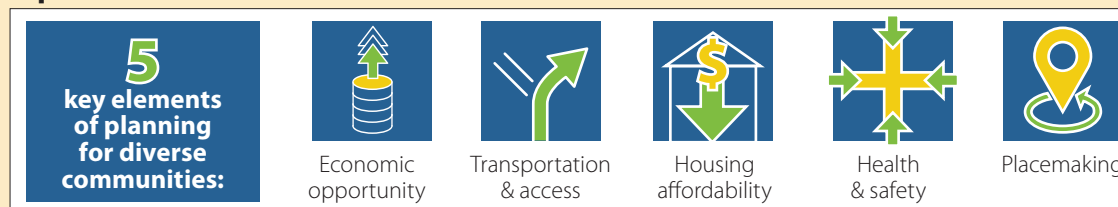
96% of U.S. population growth between 2010 and 2017 has been from nonwhites — minorities or multiracial people.



Immigration rates are heading toward historic highs.



Equitable Futures for All



Source information

Source for "Majority-Minority Nation": "Projections of the Size and Composition of the U.S. Population: 2014 to 2060," U.S. Census Bureau Population Estimates and Projections (<https://tinyurl.com/ohxe279>)

Source for 2010–2017 population growth: American Community Survey Demographic and Housing Estimates Table DP05, Hispanic or Latino and Race, 2010–2017 (<https://tinyurl.com/yd2y4oj2>)

Source for immigration rates: "Demographic Turning Points for the United States: Population Projections for 2020 to 2060," U.S. Census Bureau Population Estimates and Projections, Figure 4 (<https://tinyurl.com/y8s94mza>)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The demographics of the United States are changing profoundly. Our cities and towns are growing more racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse. By the middle of the 20th century, more than half of the U.S. population will be individuals of color. PAS Report 593, *Planning With Diverse Communities*, offers planners the tools and strategies to better engage people of color in planning processes and improve quality of life for all in diverse communities.

Cities and suburbs are reflecting this growing diversity at the macro and micro levels. Many states, such as California and New Mexico, have been “majority minority” for decades, as have many of the nation’s largest cities, including Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, and Detroit. This is now becoming true for smaller communities across the United States as well. Many urban cores are gentrifying, bringing whites back to the city, and many Asians, African Americans, and Latinos are moving to the suburbs. Together these demographic and geographical trends paint a picture of increasingly diversifying spaces.

But places in the United States have historically been highly segregated by race, which has translated to economic inequality—creating a gap between white and black or brown as well as between rich and poor. Although these gaps are narrowing with the dissolution of redlining, racial covenants, and other institutionalized discriminatory policies, clear geographic inequalities based on race and ethnicity still exist in our cities and towns today. Many African Americans, Latinos, and immigrants live in concentrated poverty. Whether created by policy outcomes or self-selection, segregated neighborhoods often have fewer employment opportunities, good schools, or quality amenities to offer their residents.

This PAS Report examines these existing conditions and coming demographic changes, and it offers planners tools and techniques to help them better serve their diverse constituencies and plan more equitably and effectively. It aims to provide planners with the necessary knowledge to:

- understand how racial and ethnic diversity is driving demographic changes in the United States and how these changes are manifesting geographically
- recognize some of the historical and current economic and social disparities that affect different races and ethnicities within the nation
- engage people of color meaningfully in the planning process
- explore strategies and tools that promote the well-being of people of color, especially those who are also low in-

come, including economic opportunities, access to transportation, housing options, health and safety, and place-making efforts

- increase cultural competency and support planning for diversity

Planners are compelled by the ethical standards of the profession to represent all communities, particularly those that are least empowered. The American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct requires planners to work toward social justice and provide choice and opportunity for everyone. It states that planners should promote racial and economic integration and acknowledges that they have a special responsibility to those who have been historically disadvantaged.

Planners should work with the public, private, and non-profit sectors to ensure a good quality of life for all residents of diverse communities, especially the underserved. Public participation provides opportunities to create places that are responsive to the values of their communities, and planners must embrace inclusive, participatory practices to encourage the input of people of color, including immigrants, in decision-making processes. Planners can better achieve both of these aims by increasing their cultural competency through attitudes and actions that allow them to function effectively across cultural differences, particularly those of race and ethnicity.

RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY IS DRIVING DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

People of color are expected to outnumber whites in the United States by the mid-2040s. These changes are driven by increases in both native-born and foreign-born populations. Latinos, African Americans, and Asians have higher fertility rates than whites; in 2010, about half of infants younger than one year of age were identified by the U.S. Census as people of color. Interracial marriage rates also have grown considerably since the 1970s, along with the number of multiracial individuals. Diverse and interrelated conditions in immigrants’

home countries and the United States, such as economic conditions, the extent of civil liberties and safety, and environmental catastrophes and civil strife, are driving immigration rates toward historic highs. Chapter 1 of this report discusses these demographic changes.

Many kinds of racially and ethnically diverse places are emerging from these demographic shifts. Chapter 3 focuses on two types of quickly changing places frequently encountered by planners: diversifying suburbs and gentrifying central city neighborhoods. Diverse suburbs are those that have no dominant racial or ethnic group. In the 20th century, diverse suburbs existed but were relatively scarce. Interrelated factors, such as reductions in housing discrimination, economic changes in the wake of the recent Great Recession, and central city redevelopment, are now leading people of color and newly arrived immigrants to move to the suburbs.

Gentrifying central city neighborhoods are also experiencing dramatic demographic and socioeconomic changes, often resulting in the displacement of lower-income residents who are people of color. Various forces drive gentrification in these places, including rapid investment following historical disinvestment, changing housing and locational preferences among young professional millennials and white baby boomers, and a lack of strong local affordable housing policies. Both bottom-up and top-down dynamics contribute to gentrification in central city neighborhoods.

The cultural and economic diversity of diverse suburbs and gentrifying central city neighborhoods create many challenges for planners. These include nonconforming uses and code violations, conflicts over the use of public space, social service and amenity mismatches, and a lack of affordable housing. These challenges arise out of the need to balance the broader public interest with meeting the needs of diverse racial and ethnic groups in these communities.

HISTORICAL AND CURRENT DISPARITIES AFFECT DIFFERENT RACES AND ETHNICITIES

The urban renewal and public housing projects of the 1950s through the 1970s created urban spaces with limited access to employment, good schools, or high quality of life. The consequences of discriminatory housing policies such as redlining and racial covenants have increased social and economic isolation for people of color, especially for African Americans. Planning can play a significant role in addressing systemic racism and barriers to opportunities for people of color related to housing, transportation, employment, and other issues.

Chapter 2 of this report examines how many people of color face significant social and economic challenges stemming from historical patterns of racism and racial and ethnic discrimination. Although today whites are more likely to live with people of color than ever before, segregation between whites and African Americans as well as Latinos and other immigrant groups remains high. Racial and ethnic segregation is an outcome of complex factors, including housing discrimination, income and wealth differences, and immigration status. The consequences of isolation are reflected in lower incomes and levels of educational attainment, along with higher unemployment and rates of incarceration, among people of color. Planners have a responsibility to help work towards remedying persistent racial and ethnic segregation, as these processes contribute to extensive place-based inequalities that affect the well-being and livelihood of people in the United States.

Research shows that access to health care, high-quality education, and high levels of employment opportunities improve the quality of life in a geographic area. In the United States today, there is an ever-increasing divide between those who have access to these amenities and services and those who do not. This divide is prominent and visible between whites and racial and ethnic minorities, including those who are unauthorized immigrants. Immigration status dramatically affects the likelihood of finding quality housing or stable employment. Moreover, unauthorized immigrants live with the fear of being removed from their families and communities by immigration authorities.

PEOPLE OF COLOR MUST BE INCLUDED IN PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCESSES

Community engagement is an ongoing process that entails facilitating the participation of residents, especially diverse or underrepresented groups, in neighborhood and local planning and design efforts. Residents engaged in participatory planning processes feel more informed about, engaged with, and connected to their communities.

Chapter 4 of this report provides planners with guidance for effective community engagement, which is more of an art than a science and can be difficult for practitioners to navigate. Common milestones at the foundation of effective community engagement include getting to know the community, connecting with community partners, and picking the appropriate strategy. The International Association for Public Participation's Public Participation Spectrum—in-

form, consult, involve, collaborate, and empower—provides a framework for engaging community members and building their capacity over time.

Immigrants and people of color often experience barriers that prevent them from participating in community planning processes. Common barriers include lack of transportation, child care, money, time, information, language, literacy, and trust. Chapter 4 offers a wide range of strategies that planners can use to help overcome these barriers. Common to all is the need to engage with underserved communities of color and build partnerships with trusted institutions in those communities to better understand local challenges to participation in planning processes and how to best address those challenges.

MANY STRATEGIES AND TOOLS CAN PROMOTE WELL-BEING IN DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

Chapter 5 of this report explores a wide range of policies and tools that support the general welfare of people of color—especially those who are also low income—by improving their employment options, access to transportation, housing choices, health and safety, and quality of places and spaces.

One fundamental strategy is to expand economic opportunities. Microentrepreneurship, small and home-based businesses, and day labor can fill widespread and ongoing seasonal and underemployment gaps often experienced by immigrants and people of color. Planners can support these economic opportunities by ensuring that local regulations allow these self-employment options and that licensing and permitting processes are understandable and easy to navigate, even by those who speak a language other than English. Planners can also engage in public education on how these activities add vitality to neighborhoods and fill income gaps.

Another strategy is activating mobility. People of color and immigrants are more likely to be transit-dependent—that is, they must rely on public or active transportation modes for essential and nonessential activities and have little or no access to a car. Critical features of public transit systems that support both transit-dependent and choice riders are high coverage combined with high frequency of service and networks that focus on coverage within an area as well as across different urban areas.

A key strategy to minimize inequity is offering adequate and appropriate housing options for all. People of color and immigrants—who may have lower incomes and more extensive or intergenerational households—require housing that

is both adaptable and affordable. Adaptability is a feature of housing that allows occupants and owners opportunities for incremental expansion, multigenerational living, and higher-density occupancy. Affordability for both renters and homebuyers can be supported by a wide range of programs and housing types.

Addressing health and safety concerns is a vital strategy in ensuring the well-being of communities of color, which are disproportionately likely to face negative environmental impacts of unwanted land uses or live in underserved, underresourced areas. The environmental justice movement has brought some awareness of and change around these issues, and there are many ways planners can work to improve the quality of life for communities of color. These include providing better access to healthy foods, parks and green space, and basic services where they are lacking, and improving pedestrian infrastructure and public safety where it is needed.

Placemaking is another important strategy through which diverse communities can celebrate cultural identity, strengthen community, and expand economic opportunity. Planners might engage with formal, top-down, local government-led placemaking projects or events both large and small in scale, or they might help coordinate or expand on more informal, bottom-up placemaking activities or activism. Planners can help create more inclusive places by learning about the social and cultural values of communities of color, engaging residents early and often in culturally meaningful and relevant projects, seeking visions generated from the existing community in areas undergoing or at risk of economic decline or gentrification, and securing funding and modifying regulations to support and enhance placemaking efforts.

PLANNERS MUST INCREASE THEIR CULTURAL COMPETENCY AND SUPPORT DIVERSITY

One of the pervasive themes throughout this report is the need for planners to become familiar with and engage directly with the people of color within their jurisdictions. Chapter 1 introduces cultural competency as the vital set of skills that enables planners to better communicate and to plan more effectively, respectfully, and compassionately with communities of color. Building cultural competency is central to planning neighborhoods and cities that serve the needs of diverse groups and people.

However, learning and practicing cultural competency is not yet central to planning education, though it has been integrated within other disciplines. Most planners learn about

cultural competency through interacting with others in their workplaces, in their everyday lives, or by seeking out resources on this topic—such as this PAS Report.

To be more effective in serving all of their constituents, planners will need to take the time to understand and move beyond their own implicit biases, which may often be hidden from themselves. Blind spots develop because of personal background and experiences as well as broader societal narratives. Developing cultural competency takes time and practice. Implicit biases are unintentional, but recognizing these biases is an essential first step.

Planners and planning organizations should also commit to improving diversity planning within their jurisdictions. Chapter 6 closes with suggestions to help begin or expand on such efforts.

CONCLUSION

This report is concerned with racial (e.g., African American, Asian) and ethnic (e.g., Latino) diversity in the United States. Changing demographics mean that planners in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors must plan for an increasing number of individuals and families of color. This is a challenge but also an opportunity. Planners can have a positive impact by working to address both historical and current inequities and providing people of color equitable access to opportunity in housing, transportation, employment, and other domains of life.

Unequal conditions have become so entrenched in our society that they may seem inevitable or irreversible. But this need not be so. Just as earlier planners may have had a hand in creating some of these uneven conditions through land-use decisions and other policies, so too can today's planners play a role in harnessing diverse interconnections to help build more just cities. Planners can rectify some of the harmful effects of racism, anti-immigrant sentiment, and discrimination through more inclusive public policies, programs, and practices. Planners have a responsibility to try to remedy these inequalities, and they are uniquely positioned to help their jurisdictions and communities reap the potential benefits of growing diversity through more equitable strategies and more inclusive forms of engagement.

CHAPTER 1

THE IMPORTANCE OF PLANNING WITH DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

The demographics of the United States are changing. While current demographics clearly show a predominantly white population, many of whom are now entering their golden years, the majority of children now born in the United States are of minority racial and ethnic descent. Racial and ethnic minorities represent the vast majority of the nation’s population growth over the past several decades. And population projections indicate that the United States will become a “majority-minority” nation within a few more decades.

Such a monumental demographic shift will have important implications for our communities. As a result, it is incumbent on today’s planners to revise and expand their planning methods to better meet the needs of a more diverse public with differing cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds and contexts.

This PAS Report will explore how to plan for a more diverse future by more fully including, engaging, and planning with growing populations of people of color, including immigrant communities. Inclusive methods will help planners better serve diverse populations that, while they may be coming to represent the majority, often remain misunderstood and underrepresented in planning processes.

Planners have the tools to create conduits for better integration of people of color, both spatially and socially. They can use these tools to help identify the economic, transportation, housing, health, and placemaking needs of communities of color, especially those that have historically been underserved and disadvantaged, and take positive action to further the goals of equity and social justice. Embracing racial and ethnic diversity supports the vibrancy of cities and improves quality of life for all.

Planners need to gain a more complete understanding of the demographic changes that are taking place across the country and more fully embrace the responsibility of planning for the wide range of diverse publics that our communities now hold. It is more important than ever that planners work toward increasing their cultural competency to better understand and serve all of their constituents. In so doing, planners can become true allies to communities of color by practicing inclusion and equitable development. The following sections expand on this important charge.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

The demographics of the United States are changing. As a whole, the U.S. population is becoming older, and the racial and ethnic composition of those entering the older age

TABLE 1.1. CHANGES IN U.S. POPULATION, 2010–2017

	2010	2017	Change	Percent- age of Growth
Total population	303,965,272	321,004,407	17,039,135	100.0
White alone	196,572,772	197,277,789	705,017	4.1
Nonwhite	107,392,500	123,726,618	16,334,118	95.9
Hispanic/Latino	47,727,533	56,510,571	8,783,038	51.5
Asian	14,021,974	16,989,540	2,967,566	17.4
Black or African American	37,122,425	39,445,495	2,323,070	13.6
Two or More Races	5,327,340	7,451,295	2,123,955	12.5
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	458,775	515,522	56,747	0.3
American Indian and Alaska Native	2,048,784	2,098,763	49,979	0.3
Some Other Race	685,669	715,432	29,763	0.2

Source: American Community Survey 5-Year Demographic and Housing Estimates DP05, 2010, 2017

brackets is largely white. But racial and ethnic composition is very different for those on the opposite end of the population pyramid. By 2011, the majority of children born in the United States were of minority racial and ethnic descent (Cohn 2014). According to American Community Survey data, minorities and multiracial people represented about 95 percent of the nation's population growth between 2010 and 2017 (Table 1.1, p. 9).

These demographic changes are significant. Recent population projections indicate the United States will become a “majority-minority” country in less than 30 years (Colby and Ortman 2015). These national trends have important implications for planners.

Majority-Minority Nation

Between 1970 and 2010, the minority population more than doubled, growing from about 16.8 percent to 36.3 percent of the total population, as shown in Figure 1.1 (Colby and Ortman 2015). In 2010, roughly two out of every five people in the United States self-identified as being a minority (Harris 2012).

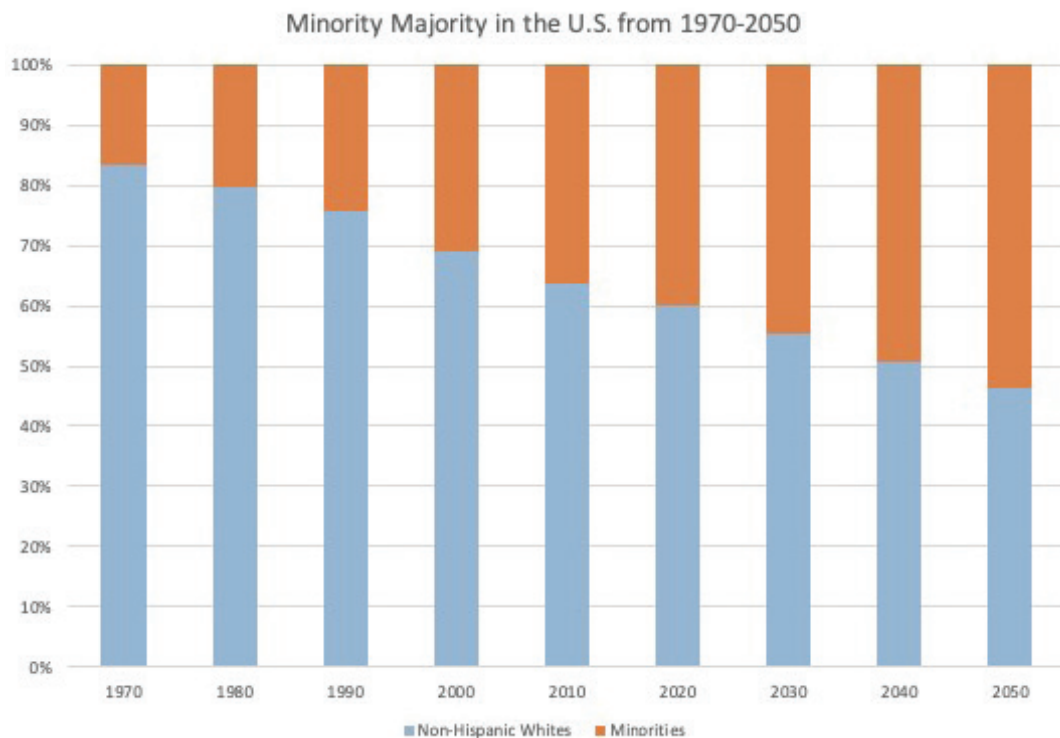
The U.S. Census Bureau has projected that by 2045, people of color will outnumber whites for the first time in the United States (Frey 2018). Non-Hispanic whites will rep-

resent about 50 percent of the U.S. population, compared to about 25 percent for Hispanics, 13 percent for African-Americans, eight percent for Asians, and four percent for other groups. Already, 50 percent of U.S. children under five years of age are racial and ethnic minorities. By 2020, minorities will comprise the majority of all children less than 18 years of age (Bedard 2017).

The native-born population drives most of the U.S. minority population growth. Native-born Latinos constituted 70 percent of the entire U.S. Latino population in 2010. Latinas have a fertility rate of 2.4 births per woman, compared to 2.1 for African-Americans and 1.8 for whites and Asians. Thus, the Latino population is expected to increase substantially relative to whites and Asians, and to a lesser extent relative to African-Americans (Passel, Livingston, and Cohn 2012).

Hawaii, California, New Mexico, and Texas were already majority-minority states by 2014, and Nevada, Maryland, and Georgia are predicted to join them in 2019, 2010, and 2025, respectively. By 2060, racial and ethnic minorities will become the majority in 22 states, as shown in Figure 1.2 (p. 11) (Colby and Ortman 2015). More than 50 metropolitan areas in the United States and more than 10 percent of U.S. counties are now majority minority (Adamy and Overberg 2016).

Figure 1.1. Minority-majority in the U.S. from 1970–2050 (Sources: Social Explorer, U.S. Census Population Projections by Race and Ethnicity)



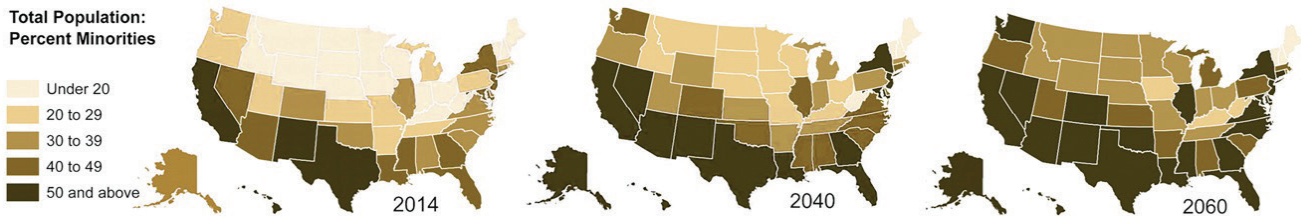


Figure 1.2. Percent minority population by state in 2014, 2040, and 2060 (image recreated by Hassan Ameli using data from the Brookings Institution)

Immigration

About 327 million people lived in the United States in 2018. It is estimated that every year the population grows by approximately 2.5 million (Colby and Ortman 2015). Immigration has accounted for about 30 percent of the population increase since 2000, as reported by the Pew Research Center (2018).

The United States hosts one-fifth of the world's immigrant population, more than any other country in the world (Lopez, Bialik, and Radford 2018). According to the 2017

American Community Survey, nearly 44 million people in the United States (13.5 percent) are foreign-born.

The U.S. foreign-born population has increased by nearly 175 percent over the past four decades—from about five percent in 1970, its lowest point since the 19th century, to 13 percent in 2015, as shown in Figure 1.3 (Lopez, Bialik, and Radford 2018). This percentage is lower than it was in the year 1910, when the foreign-born share of the population was about 15 percent and comprised mostly of non-English-speaking European coun-

Foreign-Born People Living in the United States: 1850 to 2010, Projected 2020 to 2060

By 2028, the foreign-born share of the U.S. population is projected to be higher than at any time since 1850.

Figure 1.3. Foreign-born population as a percent of the total population, 1900–2015 (Vespa et al. 2018, Figure 4)

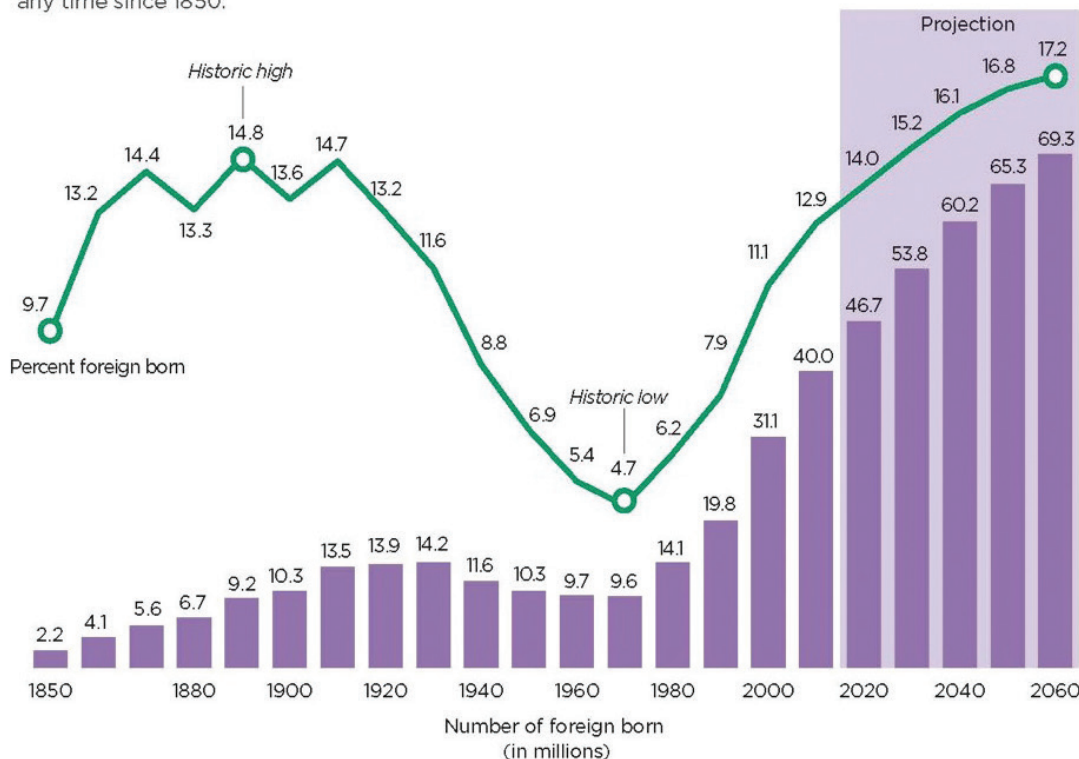
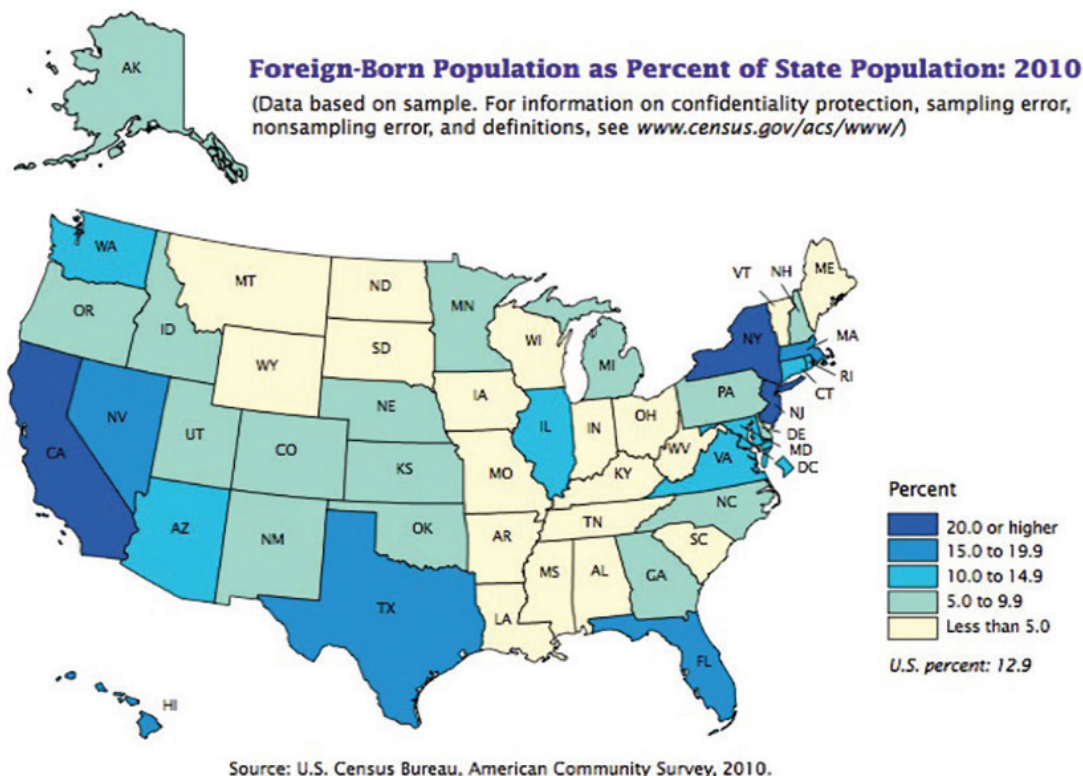


Figure 1.4. Map of estimated percent of people foreign born, 2010 (Greico et al. 2012, Figure 1)



tries for the first time in U.S. history. The U.S. foreign-born share is expected to increase to 18 percent by 2065 (Pew Research Center 2015). About 25 percent of all immigrants live in California; other states with high concentrations of immigrants include Texas, New York, and Florida (Figure 1.4).

In 2016, about 44 percent of foreign-born people were naturalized U.S. citizens, 26 percent were permanent residents, five percent were temporary residents (such as students and temporary workers) and the rest were unauthorized immigrants (Lopez, Bialik, and Radford 2018). According to the Pew Research Center, about 11 million people (25 percent of all foreign-born) are unauthorized immigrants, including both adults and children (Passel and Cohn 2018).

Immigrants in the United States are mostly from Latin America and Asia. Mexicans comprised 26 percent of the immigrant population in 2016 and have driven foreign-born population growth since 1980, mainly in the border states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, with some dispersal across the rest of the country (Lopez, Bialik, and Radford 2018). Other countries sending the most immigrants to the United States include China (six percent), India (six percent), the Philippines (four percent) and El Salvador (three percent).

Together, immigrants from these five countries represent nearly 60 percent of the foreign-born population (Zong, Batalova, and Hallock 2018). This is a dramatic change from 1960, when 75 percent of foreign-born people in the United States originated from European countries, such as Italy, Germany, Canada, United Kingdom, Soviet Union, and Poland (Figure 1.5, p. 13).

The unauthorized immigrant population tripled in size between 1990 and 2007, growing from 3.5 million to 12.2 million. It is estimated that about five million children born in the United States live with unauthorized immigrant parents and about one out of every 23 households includes an unauthorized immigrant (Lopez, Bialik, and Radford 2018).

As of 2017, approximately one million unauthorized immigrants had been given temporary permission to stay in the United States. The vast majority (800,000) were recipients of the federal policy known as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). Established by the Obama Administration in June 2012, overturned by the Trump Administration in September 2017, and currently under ongoing legal review, this program allowed some individuals who entered the country as children illegally to receive a renewable two-year deferment action from deportation and to be eligible for a work permit.

About 56 percent of the unauthorized immigrants in the United States are from Mexico, but there is a growing number from Central America, particularly from Guatemala (seven percent), El Salvador (four percent), and Honduras (three percent). Another two percent come from China (Statista 2018; BLS 2017).

The strength of the U.S. economy relative to that of sending countries is a key driver of immigration. In 2017, the United States had a gross domestic product (GDP) of \$19.2 trillion and a very low unemployment rate ranging from 4.1 to 4.8 percent (Statista 2018; BLS 2017). Countries that send the most immigrants tend to have lower GDPs. Most immigrants move to the United States in search for jobs and economic opportunities that are unavailable in their homeland. Immigrants' decision-making is also affected by education, health care, and other opportunities in the receiving country, including the potential for family reunification.

Other immigrants move to the United States for safety reasons, sometimes as refugees. Violence and social tensions are particularly prevalent today in Central America (Lorenzen 2017). For example, El Salvador's homicide rate was 24 times the U.S. homicide rate in 2015 (Watts 2015). In recent years, tens of thousands of families from El Salvador and

Honduras have fled violence in their countries to live in the United States (Lorenzen 2017). The U.S. government grants temporary protected status (TPS) to individuals from designated countries who are unable to return home safely due to an armed conflict or a catastrophic environmental disaster. More than 320,000 individuals from 10 countries (El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nepal, and Nicaragua for environmental disasters; Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen for armed conflicts) were given TPS in 2018 (Cepla 2018).

Interracial/Ethnic Marriages

Significant increases in interracial/ethnic marriages in recent years have also helped to transform demographics in the United States. In 1960, multiracial/ethnic unions made up only 0.4 percent of U.S. marriages, but by 2010, this rate had increased to 8.4 percent, and in 2017 about 15 percent of all new marriages were between people of different races and ethnicities (Frey 2014; Livingston and Brown 2017).

As shown in Figure 1.6 (p. 14), the rate of interracial/ethnic marriages is highest among Native Americans—more than 80 percent of Native Americans marry non-Native Americans—followed by Latinos and Asians (45 percent) and African-Americans (40 percent) (Wang 2015). The most

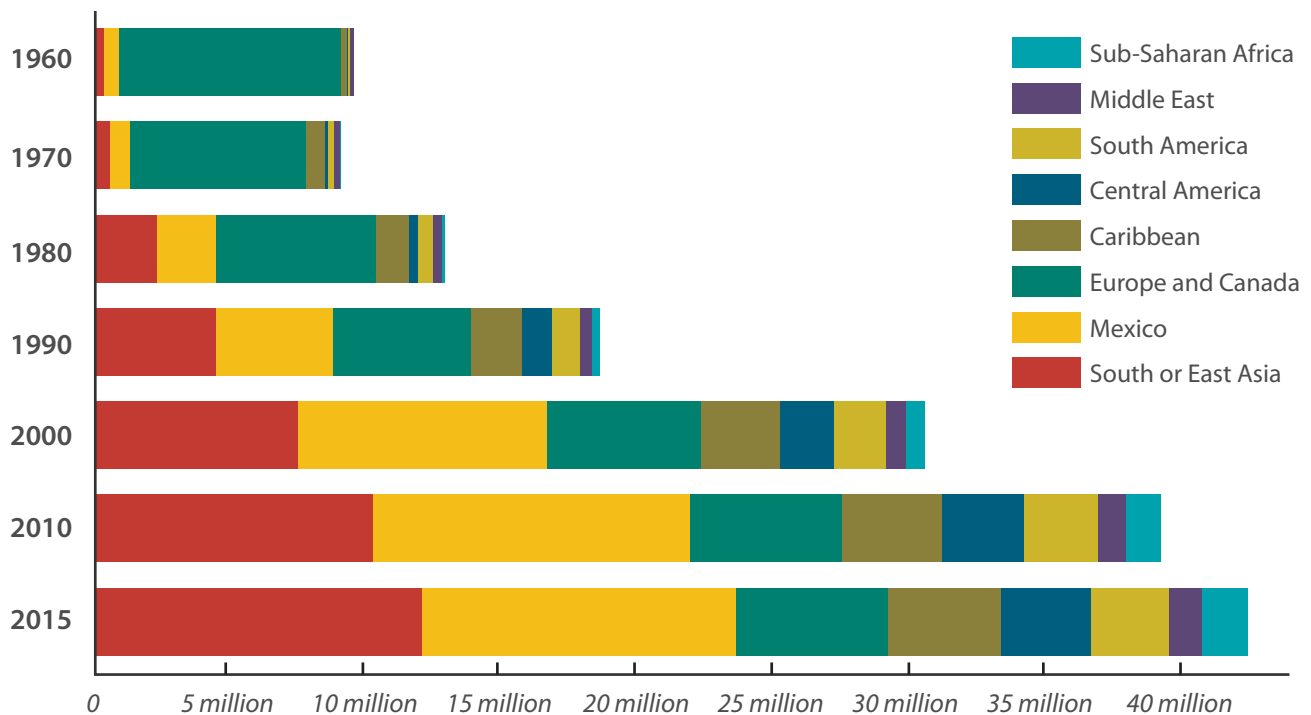
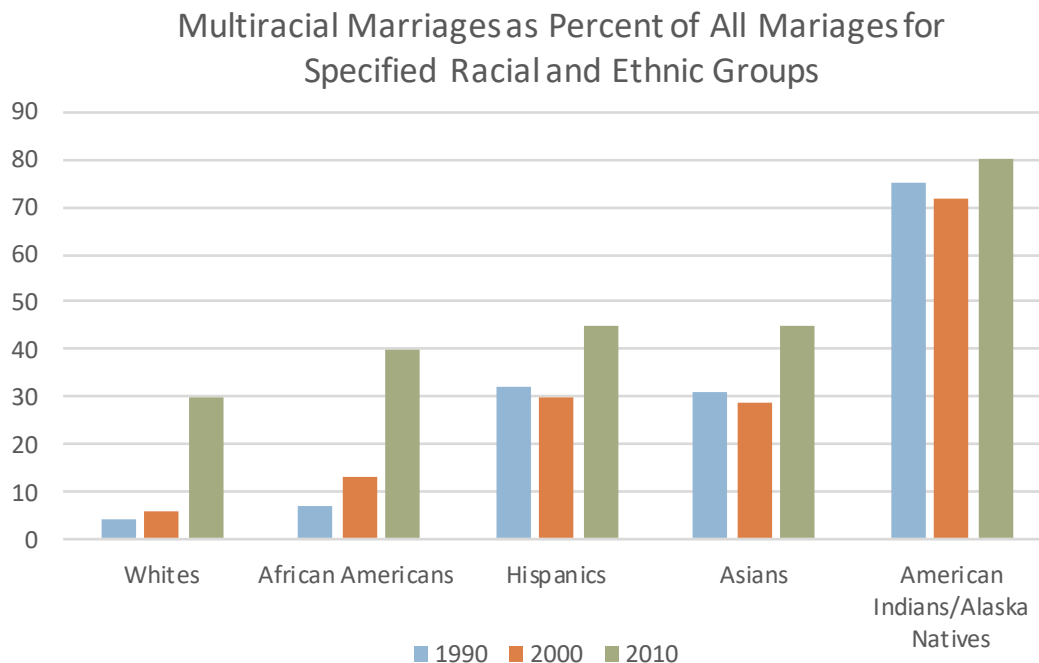


Figure 1.5. Main source countries/regions of U.S. immigrant populations by decade (data from Zong et al. 2018)

Figure 1.6. *Multiracial and multiethnic marriages by race and ethnicity (Image re-created using data from the Brookings Institution)*



common racial or ethnic pairing is between a person of color and a white spouse; about 30 percent of new marriages involving whites are interracial/ethnic (Livingston and Brown 2017). In 2010, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that the highest percentage of interracial marriages were white-Hispanic (43 percent), followed by white-Asian (14 percent) and white-African American (12 percent) (Wang 2015).

Historic prohibitions against white-African American marriages in the South, enforced until the U.S. Supreme Court annulled the laws prohibiting interracial marriages in the case *Loving v. Virginia* (388 U.S. 1 (1967)), help to explain the historic and continuing low rates of white-African American marriage. Overall, however, these statistics indicate that the long-established color line in the United States is slowly fading when it comes to forming new households.

Growth in interracial/ethnic marriages will continue (Frey 2014). Fueling this growth is the increase in interracial couples and birth of multiracial children (Livingston 2015). The percent of children from interracial couples increased from one percent in 1970 to 10 percent in 2013 (Wang 2015). Just over 10 million people (about three percent of the population) identified as multiracial in 2017 (U.S. Census Bureau 2017a). Multiracial people are more likely to be young—just shy of half of the multiracial population are under 18 years old, compared to 23 percent of the total U.S. population (Kunkle 2015).

The Pew Research Center found that the majority of multiracial adults think that their mixed racial backgrounds make them more receptive and appreciative of other cultures. However, interracial adults also are more prone to experiencing discrimination, ranging from racist slurs to physical assaults (Wang 2015). Some of these experiences could be explained by the “racial threat hypothesis,” which poses that members of the majority group (in this case, whites) might be afraid of losing out on employment opportunities and not being able to mobilize political power in the face of growing minority populations (Blalock 1973). This phenomenon may help to explain the current resurgence of negative sentiments towards immigrants and people of color, given these majority-minority growth trends.

THE PLANNER'S RESPONSIBILITY

The relationships formed between people and place are strong all over the world (Fullilove 2005; Luft and Griffin 2008). Planning and planners are an integral part of space, place, and placemaking, and play essential roles in creating cities and communities (Burayidi 2000; Talen 2006; APA 2016). The role planners have includes making decisions about who is invited to participate in planning activities and on what

terms (Davidoff 1965; Arnstein 1969; Forester 1999). A key challenge for planners in today's changing demographic landscape is negotiating and balancing a multitude of expectations where until recently only a single "public" was considered (Umemoto 2001; Sandercock 2003).

Planners are expected to serve all constituents of the public fairly and ethically. As the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct states, "As Certified Planners, all of us are also members of the American Planning Association and share in the goal of building better, more inclusive communities" (APA 2016). Under "Section A: Principles to Which We Aspire," the AICP Code of Ethics states the following:

We shall seek social justice by working to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration. We shall urge the alteration of policies, institutions, and decisions that oppose such needs.

As described by these aspirational principles, planners are servants of diverse publics and should be driving social change that increases equity in our cities. To do that effectively, planners must learn to listen to communities that have been "disadvantaged" and "lack influence," as the Code of Ethics states (APA 2016). They also have an obligation to learn how to go about expanding choice and opportunity for the communities they serve. Planners are enabled to do this through the process of becoming culturally competent.

TOWARDS CULTURALLY COMPETENT PLACES AND PLANNERS

Cultural competency is the practice of striving to recognize, understand, and accordingly respond to the cultural values and practices of others, particularly when the culture is unfamiliar (Jackson et al. 2018).

Cultural competency can help bridge gaps between planners and the communities they serve by assisting planners to better understand and become more comfortable with the place-based practices of people of color. In the sidebar on p. 16, planner Bruce W. Parker, AICP, describes his experience working with Latino immigrants and how he views their integration as one of his responsibilities.

The practices of cultural groups different from one's own may be seen as abnormal, unprofessional, infrequent,

or unimportant, and they may be misunderstood and viewed with uncertainty and anxiety by those who are unfamiliar with them (Marcuse 2009; Rios 2014; Kamel 2016). Cultural competency is one way to become more familiar with these practices and to overcome the challenges posed by differing backgrounds.

Michael Rios, an associate professor in landscape architecture and environmental design at the University of California–Davis, describes an avenue of inquiry into unfamiliar practices that helps him situate and understand communities:

Many low-income communities present a conception of urban space that does not fit easily into regulatory frameworks and municipal ordinances. Some of its manifestations in the built environment include the appropriation of public and private land for a range of purposes and informal activities that defy land use norms, zoning requirements, and the law. These same places are often targeted by a planning agenda that views them as sites of gentrification and test beds for the latest sustainability idea. However, ... I am interested in how informality is implicated in discursive representations of place—in zoning codes, maps and plans—and its relationship to spatial practices found on the ground—in neighborhoods, streets and individual sites. (Rios 2014, 173)

Embracing culturally competent planning allows planners to become more familiar with and to more effectively engage citizen action on the ground. Engaging in culturally competent practices is especially important in our time of expanding complexity and shrinking resources.

Early pedagogy in cultural competency focused on "white" culture and the need to understand nonwhite cultures, but today there is a recognition that every individual, regardless of race or ethnicity, can work towards greater cultural competency. Newer approaches to cultural competency lead participants through a process of recognizing and un-normalizing or defamiliarizing one's own culture and then increasing one's knowledge about other cultures.

Cultural competency training has been stressed in fields such as health care and social work (Jackson et al. 2018). For example, Cross et al. (1989) established a continuum of cultural competency to use in the social work profession. The cultural competency continuum describes six levels of competency: (1) cultural destructiveness, (2) cultural incapacity, (3) cultural blindness, (4) cultural pre-competence, (5) cultural competency, and (6) cultural proficiency (Table 1.2, p. 17).

QUIET VOICES: THE PRIVILEGE OF PLANNING IN SMALL AND QUICKLY DIVERSIFYING COMMUNITIES

Bruce W. Parker, AICP

Rosa Martinez works hard operating her food trailer on Main Street. The money she makes supplements her husband's minimum-wage income used to support their family. Rosa's food is distinctively Mexican. Customers say Rosa's food is "the best."

Rosa's three children help. Before school, they work to load the trailer with the daily supplies Rosa will need. After school, they come by and help her as the cashier, server, and clean-up crew while Rosa cooks and then pulls together the shopping list of supplies she needs to purchase later.

Rosa's husband, Alejandro, works at a large dairy about 10 miles out of town. Alejandro works long hours with the other farm workers milking and caring for the dairy's 1,500 cows. The opportunity of work is what brought Alejandro, Rosa, and their family to this small country town.

They live in their small, rented house in the shadows of the town's social fabric. Talking in broken English to her customers or at a church on some Sundays is the only contact Rosa has outside of her family and Lucia, her only close friend. To afford housing Lucia lives with her two boys in one of the four-plex units down the street with another single mom and her children.

Parent-teacher conferences are especially hard. Rosa and Alejandro are very aware of their poor English and are self-conscious about it. Their 12-year-old daughter usually accompanies them as translator as they try to understand the children's teachers. Alejandro and Rosa love their kids. They want them to do well in school, get good jobs, and find a better life. Their children are doing well in school and have good friends. But

Alejandro and Rosa, along with Lucia, feel isolated in this town of about 2,000 people. Except for Rosa's yearly trip to the town's offices to renew her business license, neither she, Alejandro, or Lucia will have any contact with town officials.

Rosa and Alejandro's lives are not unusual. Lucia also works long hours at the local gas station convenience store. Alejandro, Rosa, and Lucia are just three examples of the town's new faces. Because of the area's agribusinesses and the nearby state prison, the town is becoming more diverse—socially, economically, racially, ethnically, culturally, and politically. No one anticipated or planned for these demographic and socioeconomic changes to the town; they just happened.

Lucia moved to town about 18 months ago. She, like Rosa, came with her boys to be with her husband. Brian, Lucia's husband, got tangled up with drugs and after a drug possession conviction is now serving two years at the state prison. The state built the all-male facility about ten years ago. It was constructed in response to the increasing state inmate population and to provide more local employment opportunities. Brian has six months until his release. Lucia and Brian do not know what they'll do when he gets out. Their boys like it here. They like the school, and they have their friends. Should they stay in this small, rural town where they only know a handful of people or should they move again?

The geography and circumstances may change, but communities like this dot the American landscape. Smaller communities are experiencing social and cultural changes of significant proportions, maybe even more so than the

larger cities. Does planning have a responsibility to these communities? Do planners have ethical and professional obligations to serve diverse residents?

The answers are unequivocally yes. The AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct says: "we shall seek social justice by working to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration" (APA 2016). Similarly, APA's Ethical Principles in Planning provides clear guidance to anyone participating in planning. It asks that they "strive to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of disadvantaged groups and persons" (APA 1992).

Planners can reach out and find each Rosa, Alejandro, Lucia, and Brian in their own communities. Listen intently to their stories and messages offered in unexpected moments, sometimes in quiet tones. With their rich and diverse life experiences, they have a lot to contribute to a community's future.

TABLE 1.2. CULTURAL COMPETENCY CONTINUUM (FROM CROSS ET AL. 1989)

	Definition	Organizational Characteristics
Cultural Destructiveness	Intentionally denies or rejects other cultures	Attitudes, policies, structures, and practices within a system or organization are destructive to a cultural group
Cultural Incapacity	Accepts the existence of other cultures, but unable to work with others	Allocates resources in ways that may benefit one cultural group over another Sends subtle messages that some cultural groups are neither valued nor welcomed Sets lower expectations for some cultural, ethnic, or racial groups
Cultural Blindness	Assumes that all people are alike; advocates a universal approach and services for all people	Delivers services in ways that ignore cultural strengths Institutional attitudes blame individuals or families for their circumstances Little value placed on training and resource development that facilitates cultural and linguistic competency Workforce and contract personnel lack diversity Few structures and resources are dedicated to acquiring cultural competency
Cultural Sensitivity	Willing to learn about and understand other cultures	Delivers high-quality services to culturally and linguistically diverse populations States commitment to human and civil rights Hiring practices support a diverse workforce Has capacity to conduct asset and needs assessments within diverse communities Makes concerted efforts to improve service delivery for specific racial, ethnic, or cultural groups Tendency for token representation on governing boards No clear plan for achieving organizational cultural competency
Cultural Competency	Able to work effectively in cross-cultural situations; develops standards, policies, practices, and attitudes	Implements specific policies and procedures that integrate cultural and linguistic competency into each core function of the organization, including in its mission Recruits, hires, and maintains a diverse workforce Provides fiscal support, professional development, and incentives for cultural competency Practices principles of community engagement that result in the reciprocal transfer of knowledge and skills between all collaborators, partners, and key stakeholders
Cultural Proficiency	Proactive in promoting cultural diversity; seeks opportunities to improve cultural relationships	Continues to add to the knowledge base within the field of planning by developing new interventions that result in equitable outcomes Develops organizational philosophy and practices that integrate cultural groups Employs staff with expertise in cultural competency Develops materials that are adapted to the cultural and linguistic contexts of populations served Keeps dedicating resources to cultural competency training Advocates with, and on behalf of, people of color Establishes and maintains partnerships with diverse groups

Source: National Center for Cultural Competence 2004; authors

Since that time, the continuum has been adopted by various other professions and more recently in planning education (Jackson et al. 2018). Planners can employ the cultural competence continuum in their planning organizations to conduct self-assessments and set goals about how they can move up the various levels. See the sidebar on p. 19 for exercises and resources that address cultural competency.

Planners also need to exercise humility—the idea that one needs to abandon preconceived notions to open up space for a partnership. Scholars have expanded the definition of

cultural competency to include the concept of cultural humility, which can be applied in the planning profession:

Cultural humility incorporates a lifelong commitment to self-evaluation and self-critique, to redress the power imbalances in the patient-physician dynamic and to developing mutually beneficial and nonpaternalistic clinical and advocacy partnerships with communities on behalf of individuals and defined populations. (Ter- valon and Murray-García 1998, 17)

The implementation of cultural competency or humility training is necessary for planners. We live in a multicultural world, and the identity of people and communities is very complex. To do their jobs effectively, planners need to learn and develop multicultural communication skills.

Understanding one's identity and negotiating differences arising from social and cultural diversity is key to building vibrant and equitable cities. This process entails mindful and respectful consideration of overlapping and competing cultural values. Cultural competency and humility help planners to work collaboratively with culturally diverse communities to create truly inclusive places.

PLANNERS AS ALLIES TO COMMUNITIES OF COLOR

Culturally relevant and authentic places that support a good quality of life are important to all populations (Gehl 2010; Zukin 2011). This report provides a toolbox for planners to begin to understand and work for and with racially and ethnically diverse communities.

Planners first must become more familiar with the issues that people of color face to work effectively for and with them. But planners are also cautioned to approach the task of better understanding racially and ethnically diverse communities with the caveat that existing conditions are not necessarily preferred conditions. In fact, many of these conditions might be caused by historical and current inequalities.

Communities of color experience a host of social and spatial disparities, such as more environmental hazards, poorer upkeep of public spaces and roads, and fewer amenities and services, such as access to high-quality grocery stores. Low-income communities of color also tend to settle in more hazardous locations and are more vulnerable to natural disasters when they occur (Berke et al. 2010; Holmes 2014). Poverty rates, which are linked to the above disparities, are higher in communities of color. And associated with poverty are challenges such as low wages, segregation, inferior education, and lack of political representation.

Planners may learn some surprising lessons as they become more familiar with communities of color and their many challenges. One example is the growth of low-income and highly segregated suburbs as a significant ongoing phenomenon. People of color are being driven out of cities into suburbs due to the housing affordability crisis in dense areas, while at the same time, many white people, especially young professionals, are moving into urban areas looking for mixed

use housing and public transportation amenities. Often, these incomers end up displacing the people of color already living in walkable and transit-rich urban neighborhoods.

Planners need to be true allies of communities of color. For example, if public transportation investments and densification are proposed for an area, planners need to recognize that such a project could result in displacement and gentrification if the low-income residents of the community are not considered in the planning process. If affordable housing is included as part of the project, planners need to ask for whom it is intended. All housing is affordable to someone, but not all households can afford affordable housing. If the "affordable" housing is for those who earn 80–120 percent of the area median income (AMI), but Latino families who live in the area make on average 40 percent of the AMI, this indicates that the envisioned project is not for the average Latino family in that community. Most likely, they would be displaced by the project and may need to move to a less desirable urban neighborhood or to the closest and cheapest suburb. Planners must recognize when redevelopment may result in the displacement of people of color from areas of high opportunity (as defined by improved environmental conditions and access to affordable housing, transit, and employment) to areas of low opportunity and work to protect those populations.

ABOUT THIS REPORT

The communities where planners live and work are changing. The typical planner in the year 2050 will be serving a much more racially and ethnically diverse community than the typical planner in 2020. This PAS Report explores this growing diversity and the strategies that planners can use to engage and cultivate inclusive communities.

The overarching goals of this report are twofold. The first goal is to illustrate the negative consequences of excluding racially and ethnically diverse populations from planning projects and processes. People of color, especially those who are also low income, experience many inequalities—racial and ethnic segregation and lack of housing, employment, and transportation opportunities—at higher rates than whites. Planners need to become more aware of these inequities.

The second goal of this report is to provide planners with a path forward to effectively work for and with racially and ethnically diverse communities. Planners should engage with communities of color in a manner that helps to foster greater equity. With this goal in mind, this report seeks to develop practitioners' skills that will enable them to engage, commu-

MOVING TOWARD CULTURAL COMPETENCY

Cross et al. (1989) suggests that there is not a formula for achieving cultural competence, but that a good way to start is becoming aware of one's own personal biases. Conducting an "identity exercise" is one of the first steps you can take to try to understand who you are and where you come from.

There are many well-recognized "identity" or "self-awareness" exercises to help you understand your personal biases. Try searching online using terms such as "inside circle, outside circle," "identity tag," or "identity mapping." For example, in an identity mapping exercise, you might write:

I am a light-skinned Puerto Rican, a citizen of the United States but English is my second language. I am a middle-class, Christian, able-bodied, and highly educated heterosexual woman. I am a big sister and I come from a two-parent household who owns a home in a mixed-income, racially diverse small town with decent public schools. I am an academic and a planner.

By mapping your identity, you will be better able to understand how aspects of your identity are different from those that other people may identify. In this way you are becoming more aware of your own personal and cultural biases, preconceived ideas, and privileges compared to others.

A second step that you can take is to become involved with people from diverse cultures by listening to them and trying to see where they are coming from so you can understand their values and aspirations as individuals and then as a community. You can do this by walking or driving through neighborhoods to identify where people of color gather. You can visit community organizations such as parks, libraries, and schools or meet with block associations, senior

citizen's groups, and women's clubs. Visit websites of different organized groups and learn about the places they value in their community, events and activities you can take part on, and so on. Chapter 4 will discuss these strategies.

Look for cultural competency trainings sponsored by your department or city, or request that such trainings be held. Usually, universities will also offer continuing education courses or group discussions about community engagement with diverse groups as well as cultural competency trainings. APA's *Planning* magazine offers many articles that address diverse communities, and APA's National Planning Conference offers many educational sessions on the topic of social justice and equity—search under the "Planning for Inclusiveness and Social Justice" track. You can also join various divisions of APA that expressly advocate for people of color, such as the Planning and the Black Community Division and the Latinos and Planning Division.

Working across cultures is not only about race or ethnicity, however. Diversity also means different points of view and ideas. As shown in the above example of mapping one's identity, cultural differences arise based on diverse characteristics, such as geography, political leanings, and nativity status (Young 2011). For example, rural communities may have distinct ways of communicating as well as values that may put them at odds with powerful bureaucratic outsiders, making equitable and collaborative planning almost impossible. Urban planner and founder of the Latinos and Planning Division of the American Planning Association, Leo Vazquez, AICP, describes how cultural competency can be useful to all planners regardless of their race and ethnicity: "Cultural com-

petency can help you whether you're an African American planner working in a white community; or a white planner on a team with white architects and engineers" (Vazquez 2009).

It is necessary for planners to think broadly and critically about their role in addressing issues of urban equality and the challenges that exist today for people of color. Planners need to be aware of how cultural competency can play a part in how they can make decisions that further equity. This report is meant to help you begin your personal cultural competency journey.

nicate, and plan more effectively, respectfully, and compassionately with communities of color.

These skills start with the foundational understanding that planners deal with pluralistic communities that have unique needs, norms, and values. The public is neither homogenous nor singular; people have different ways of seeing and being. Planners and communities alike benefit when planners listen to and learn from diverse publics. Cultural competency is a valuable and necessary tool for planners to use in meeting the needs of communities of color and in recognizing when systemic discrimination by race and ethnicity is at play in city hall, the planning office, or the community library. The authors hope that the information and case studies presented in this report are an important first step in enhancing readers' cultural competency.

Expanding planning as a profession further into the realm of issues facing people of color requires an understanding of how race and ethnicity relate to inequity in the first place. Chapter 2, *Understanding Racial and Ethnic Inequalities*, reviews the history of racism and racial segregation faced by people of color and recent immigrants and the contribution of this history to inequities in today's communities.

Chapter 3, *Diverse Places and Planning Challenges*, introduces planners to two emerging and distinct types of racially and ethnically diverse places: the diverse suburb and the gentrifying central city neighborhood. Illustrative case studies tell the story of these changes. The chapter discusses the key drivers of these places and addresses their implications for planning practice.

Chapter 4, *Engaging Diverse Communities*, offers tools and approaches that planners can use to communicate better and work with immigrants and people of color. A rationale for community engagement is presented, followed by a review of the different levels of participation: inform, consult, involve, collaborate, and empower. The chapter describes particular challenges to engagement present in racially and ethnically diverse communities and identifies ways of overcoming these challenges, drawing on various case studies.

Chapter 5, *Tools for Planning for Diversity*, presents strategies that planners can use to enhance the vitality of diverse communities. These strategies address economic opportunities, transportation and access, housing options, health and safety, and placemaking. They offer valuable opportunities for improving socioeconomic mobility, community stability, and social integration. The chapter reviews how these strategies enhance the quality of life of communities of color and identifies ways that planners can support these strategies through policy adaptation, expansion, and implementation.

The report concludes in Chapter 6, *Toward a More Diverse and Equitable Future*, which summarizes the main points made in the report and encourages planners to further advance racial and ethnic equity in their planning practices as well as in their towns, cities, and regions.

CHAPTER 2

UNDERSTANDING RACIAL AND ETHNIC INEQUALITY

The lives of diverse racial and ethnic groups in the United States have long been unequal. People of color are more prone to experiencing racism, concentrated neighborhood poverty, and police imprisonment than whites. This chapter provides a brief overview of these persistent structural inequalities and makes the case for why planners have important roles to play in helping to overcome these inequalities by cultivating inclusive communities.

Racism is a set of beliefs and actions motivated by the premise that members of particular racial or ethnic groups are inferior to members of other racial or ethnic groups. The racist convictions held by some whites that people of color are biologically inferior is longstanding in the United States (Gould 1994). This conviction reinforces the idea that social or economic inequalities among members of different racial or ethnic groups, such as the proportion receiving a higher education, stem from inherent personal traits rather than from societal structures (Goyette and Scheller 2014). For instance, as recently as 1994, academics Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray argued that the low IQ scores and higher levels of poverty of African Americans reflected their genetic inferiority rather than systematic barriers that African Americans have long faced (Herrnstein and Murray 1996).

Recent research from the Pew Research Center found differences in perceptions of the origin of racism among whites and African Americans. Whites were more likely to attribute racism to actions undertaken by individuals rather than institutions, while African Americans were more likely to attribute racism to actions undertaken by individuals and institutions (Pew Research Center 2016a). Further, whites were 66 percent more likely than African Americans to say that white and African American people are treated equally when dealing with police, courts, voting, places of employment, businesses, and financial institutions (Pew Research Center 2016c).

RACIAL AND ETHNIC SEGREGATION

Racial and ethnic residential segregation, or the tendency for people of different racial and ethnic groups to live apart, per-

sists in the United States (Massey and Denton 1985; Hartman and Squires 2009; Price 2008). This is an issue warranting proactive intervention from planners, particularly as racially and ethnically segregated areas often have vastly different social and economic opportunities and levels of well-being.

Trends in Racial and Ethnic Segregation

Racial integration has increased in U.S. metropolitan areas in recent decades. Increases in integration have mainly occurred between African Americans and whites and African Americans and Latinos.

The highest levels of segregation are still between African Americans and whites. Figure 2.1 (p. 24) shows the persistent separation of white and African American residents in Detroit between 1970 and 2010. Nationwide, in 2010, about 60 percent of African Americans would have had to move to be completely integrated into the neighborhoods where whites lived in metro areas. This is still a high level of segregation, though it is a significant decline from the 73 percent that would have had to move in 1980 (Logan and Stults 2011). This decline is partly explained by the migration of African Americans to the suburbs and the migration of whites to exurbs. In comparison, only 49 percent of Latinos and 41 percent of Asians would have had to move to be wholly integrated into the neighborhoods where whites lived in metro areas nationwide in 2010, indicating more moderate levels of segregation (Wilson and Singer 2011). Levels of segregation between Latinos and whites and Asians and whites have remained relatively constant over time (Logan and Stults 2011).

The most significant change in residential integration among racial and ethnic groups from 1980 to 2010 occurred between African Americans and Latinos (Wilson and Singer 2011). About 60 percent of Latinos would have had to move

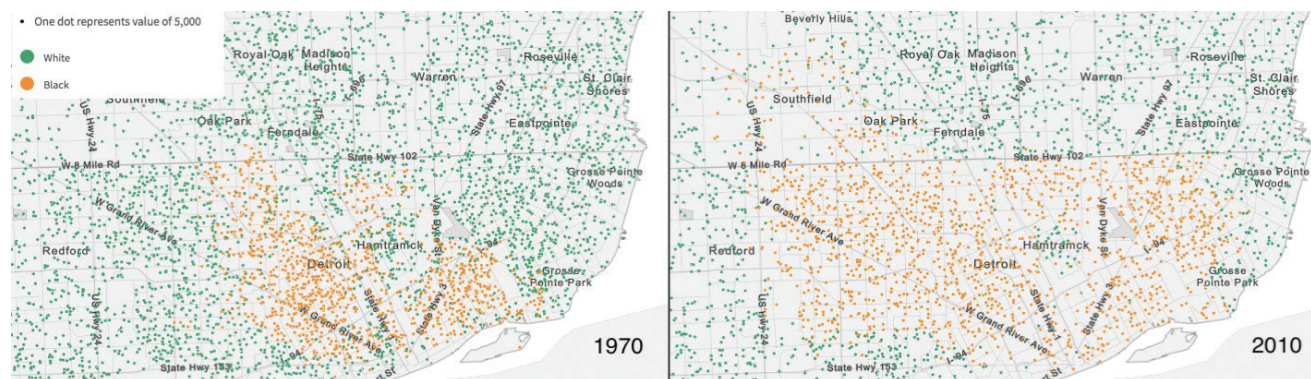


Figure 2.1. Racial dot map of Detroit in 1970 and 2010 (authors)

to be wholly integrated into the neighborhoods where African Americans lived in 1980, while 43 percent would have had to move in 2010 (Logan and Stults 2011). Rates of integration also have increased dramatically between African Americans and Asians in that same period, with from 73 percent to 57 percent having to move to achieve integration (Logan and Stults 2011).

The racial and ethnic composition of the typical neighborhood occupied by members of specific racial and ethnic groups has also changed over time. Black-white segregation has decreased. The typical neighborhood occupied by an urban African American was 61 percent African American in 1980, and that declined to 45 percent by 2010 (Logan and Stults 2011). In turn, the white population of the typical neighborhood occupied by an urban white fell from 88 percent to 75 percent over this same period (Logan and Stults 2011).

Conversely, Latinos and Asians have become more likely to live with their own over time, which is partly an outcome of their rapid population increase as discussed in Chapter 1. The Latino population of the typical neighborhood occupied by an urban Latino went from 38 percent in 1980 to 46 percent in 2010 (Wilson and Singer 2011). Asians experienced a more moderate increase in living with their own group, from 17 percent in 1980 to 22 percent in 2010 (Wilson and Singer 2011).

Rates of segregation between different racial and ethnic groups vary among U.S. metro areas and regions. High segregation levels between African Americans and whites have remained fairly constant or have even increased in midwestern and northeastern metros experiencing slow or negative population growth (Iceland and Sharp 2013). For instance, the percentage of African Americans that would have to move to be completely integrated with whites in Detroit in-

creased from 80 percent to 83 percent from 1980 to 2010 (Logan and Stults 2011). Declines in segregation (and lower levels of segregation) between African Americans and whites are most prevalent in fast-growing metros in the U.S. Sunbelt. For instance, the percent of African Americans that would have had to move to be completely integrated with whites in Atlanta decreased from 49 percent to 30 percent from 1980 to 2010 (Logan and Stults 2011).

Causes of Racial and Ethnic Segregation

Racial and ethnic segregation is the result of diverse and interrelated factors. Four of the most significant are urban redevelopment and renewal in the mid-20th century, housing discrimination, enduring income and wealth disparities among racial and ethnic groups, and English language ability.

Planners have been directly involved in contributing to some of these factors (e.g., urban renewal) and it is important for planners to be aware of and learn from past mistakes. It is also vital for planners to be cognizant of the disparities that exist in their own jurisdictions (e.g., housing, income, and wealth) and think about how these and other factors (such as English language ability) might affect participatory planning processes and outcomes for different racial and ethnic populations.

Urban Renewal

Throughout the postwar urban renewal era, during the explosive urban growth of the so-called “long boom,” whites were put in preferred and lucrative positions to accumulate wealth through home ownership credits and other public subsidies such as highway infrastructure development. In contrast, people of color were systematically excluded from the possibility of increasing home ownership rates.

Welfare provision in the form of mortgage interest deductions was made available to white families, but the nation's rising middle class was largely blind to the reality of the massive inequalities that were fueling their success. Housing discrimination was institutionalized by the practices of banks, realtors, and developers. These practices led to both the massive suburban boom and disinvestment in city centers. On the one hand, cheap credit and tax incentives were offered in the new suburbs; on the other, urban housing stock was left to fall into disrepair, in many cases to be eventually cleared out.

Anthony Downs attributed suburban development to the deterioration of housing in the urban core; as homes aged, he posited that they would “trickle down” into the hands of low-income households—often people of color—while wealthier populations would move to newer houses in the periphery (Downs 1973). From this perspective, individuals improved their standing within the housing ladder through this hand-me-down process. According to this housing life-cycle theory, when homes age, they are either redeveloped or fall into disrepair. Whole neighborhoods—i.e., agglomerations of individual houses—can also fall into disrepair in this process.

The intuitive nature of the housing life-cycle theory helped to justify urban renewal efforts, in which planners working for public housing authorities tore down “blighted” buildings and entire neighborhoods where low-income residents and people of color lived (Carmon 1997). Urban renewal, which started in 1949 and ended in 1973, was most notorious for affecting African Americans. It was dubbed “Negro removal” in criticism of what the policy meant for these communities by James Baldwin, a prominent African American author, during a 1963 television interview (Cecil 2009).

Planners in the federal government did build public housing for some (perhaps one of every 10) residents displaced by urban renewal programs (Hilfiker 2003). Public housing in the form of Le Corbusier-style towers—sited in vast expanses of empty green space and placed into superblocks—were erected where “the blight” once thrived in large cities like Chicago, New York, and St. Louis. These modern, centrally planned buildings were symbols of order. They were viewed by planners and government officials, however, as temporary housing; residents were expected to find jobs and eventually enter the private market to become homeowners (Radford 1997). As has been documented in many other resources (Goetz 2013; Hartman and Squires 2009; Squires 2017), in a matter of only 10 to 15 years, many of these once-majestic buildings had fallen into disrepair. They became, as urbanist Oscar Newman put it, “indefensi-

ble spaces,” as the design of these high-rise apartment buildings contributed to crime (Newman 1973).

A related factor was the Federal Highway Act of 1956. This facilitated the construction of an interstate highway system that physically separated people of color from not only white communities but also employment and other opportunities. These outcomes contributed to unequal access to opportunity (e.g., recreational facilities, transportation, employment, quality housing, and schools) and reduced accumulation of wealth by people of color.

These are some examples of how planning practices furthered segregation and poverty concentration in the postwar urban renewal era. Planners today must learn from these misguided decisions made in the mid-20th century and work to ensure that future development occurs in more inclusive ways.

Housing Discrimination

Housing discrimination is unequal treatment of members of different racial or ethnic groups in the housing market. Housing discrimination takes two primary forms: race-based zoning and racial discrimination in housing transactions.

Race-based zoning, which has long been illegal, was typically enacted by a locality, developer, or a homeowners' association (Thomas and Ritzdorf 1996). U.S. localities in the 19th and early 20th centuries wrote restrictions in their zoning and municipal codes limiting residency in certain places to members of particular racial and ethnic groups (Black 1960). For instance, many California localities restricted where the Chinese and Chinese Americans could live in the late 19th century (Lee 2003). In 1917 race-based zoning was declared illegal following *Buchanan v. Warley* (245 U.S. 60), when the U.S. Supreme Court deemed that a locality's prevention of a African-American homebuyer from occupying his property because it was in “the white area of town” violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

Another strategy of restricting the racial composition of communities still practiced into the mid-20th century was racial covenants: deed restrictions, typically enacted by a developer or homeowners association, which stated that certain racial groups (e.g., “the Negro or Mongolian race”) were not allowed to occupy property within the predetermined boundaries set by the covenant (Gotham 2008). The practice of enforcing these deed restrictions was not illegal until 1948 after the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Shelley v. Kraemer* (334 U.S. 1). The Shelleys, an African American couple, had purchased a home from the Kraemers, a white couple, in a St. Louis neighborhood, and the homeowners' association tried to enforce the restrictive covenant so that the Shelleys could not occupy

the property. The Supreme Court found that racially restrictive land-use covenants violated the 14th Amendment.

Other forms of racial discrimination in housing transactions were legal well into the mid-20th century and, despite reforms, persist into the 21st century. These types of housing discrimination occur during the process of buying, renting, or obtaining a loan to buy housing and may be enacted by realtors, home sellers, lenders, landlords, or insurers. Some examples include refusing to sell, rent, or lend to someone based on their race; quoting different rates for rents, loans, or insurance based on someone's race; or attempting to steer home buyers or renters into living in particular communities based on their race.

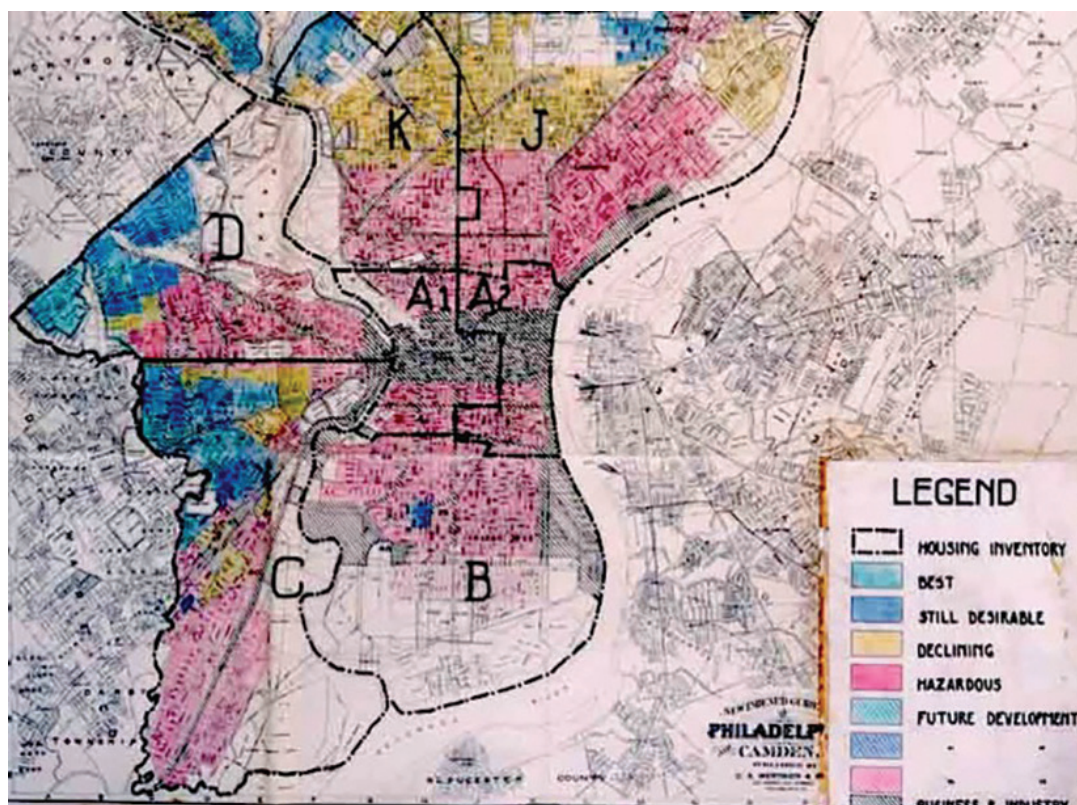
Racial discrimination in lending was particularly pernicious during the mid-20th century. Federal mortgage insurance companies, such as the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), developed a system of assessing the risk of default in a neighborhood during the 1930s and 1940s (Hillier 2003). Neighborhood ratings ranged from A to D, or green to red, with places in neighborhoods rated D or red deemed to have

the highest risk of default. Race was a key factor figuring into a neighborhood's rating, with homogenous Protestant communities of northern European white ethnic groups having the highest ratings and communities of color having the lowest ratings (Schill and Wachter 2001).

One such example is depicted in Figure 2.2. JM Brewer owned Property Services, Inc., a company that provided demographic information and maps to HOLC as well as others in the real estate industry, including lenders, realtors, and appraisers. Brewer's map of Philadelphia was used to determine the areas where it was risky to lend or "hazardous"—and these red areas were mostly associated with African American households and communities.

This practice of "redlining," defined as the institutionalized practice of insurance companies not providing insurance and banks denying loans based on geographic areas associated with people of color, was widely adopted within the real estate industry during the mid-20th century. Redlining made homeownership more difficult for people living in communities of color and contributed to the vast economic differences in wealth among racial and ethnic groups, dis-

Figure 2.2. JM Brewer's
1934 map of Philadel-
phia (Wikimedia
Commons)



cussed further in the next section (Norton and Walton-Roberts 2013). Legislation passed in later decades of the 20th century, notably the 1975 Home Mortgage Disclosure Act and the 1977 Community Reinvestment Act, have helped to curtail this practice (Hillier 2003). Further, credit unions such as the former ShoreBank in Chicago fought redlining by proactively providing financial services such as mortgage loans to communities of color.

However, disparities in lending by racial and ethnic groups persist, most notably in the higher rates of subprime loans received by people and communities of color. For example, 69 percent of white homebuyers applied for conventional loans in 2012, compared to only 29 percent of African Americans, seven percent of Asians, and five percent of Latinos (FFEIC 2012). Of these, 73 percent of whites were approved, compared to only seven percent of Asians, five percent of Latinos, and two percent of African Americans (FFEIC 2012).

Racial discrimination in housing transactions was more broadly outlawed through the 1968 Fair Housing Act, which was passed one week after Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination. It outlaws discrimination based on race, color, or nationality in housing-related transactions (Squires 2017).

However, periodic audits conducted by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, among others, reveals that housing discrimination persists, though rates have declined for some forms of discrimination over time (Page 1995). For instance, a 2012 audit found that African American renters' incidences of overt discrimination (refusal by a landlord to show any units) had declined from 20 percent to two percent from 1977 to 2012. However, African American, Latino, and Asian renters still experienced some form of discrimination about nine to 10 percent of the time when compared with whites (Schwartz 2015). Examples include being shown fewer units or not being told about financial incentives such as promotions (Schwartz 2015).

Families enrolled in the Housing Choice Voucher program (also known as "Section 8") may also find it hard to use their vouchers in areas of opportunities (Greenlee 2011). Weak enforcement of the law, arising in part from the burden that victims face in meticulously documenting discrimination to prove that it has occurred and the minor penalties imposed on perpetrators, continue to limit the 1968 Fair Housing Act's effect (Schwartz 2015).

While most of the nation is back on track from the recent recession and the foreclosure crisis that afflicted homeowners between December 2007 and June 2009, the consequences are still felt at different levels on a regional, community, and racial and ethnic basis. African American and Latinos were the

most affected by the foreclosure crisis. Among loan originations between 2004 and 2008, nine percent of Latino and 10 percent of African American homeowners lost their homes, compared to four percent of white homeowners (Center for Responsible Lending 2011).

Historically it has been harder for people of color to gain access to credit and mortgages. Reasons for this include lower incomes, greater information asymmetry, underreported earnings due to higher participation rates in the informal economy, and discrimination (Center for Responsible Lending 2011). Though with the relaxation of credit requirements from the early 2000s until 2008 a large number of people of color became homeowners for the first time, they did so at a high cost. Defaulting on expensive subprime mortgages caused many to lose their homes in the Great Recession. Others lost considerable wealth even if they did not default—their homes are worth less than what they owe to the bank.

Income and Wealth Disparities

Income and wealth disparities among racial and ethnic groups also contribute to residential segregation by affecting the kinds of neighborhoods where people can afford to live.

Income is what a household earns year to year. Household income primarily is used for meeting regular household expenses, such as rent or monthly mortgage payments. If a household's income exceeds its expenses, a portion of its income may go into savings, which becomes part of its wealth.

Whites persistently have earned more than Latinos and African Americans in the United States. As shown in Figure 2.3 (p. 28), the median income for white households in 2017 was \$63,704, compared to \$60,734 for Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, \$49,793 for Latinos, \$41,882 for American Indians and Alaskan Natives, and \$40,232 for African Americans (U.S. Census Bureau 2017b). However, Asians have typically earned more than whites. The median income for Asian American households in 2017 was \$83,456 (U.S. Census Bureau 2017b). It is important to note that there are differences between Asian subgroups. For example, Laotian median income in 2017 was \$59,906 (the lowest) in comparison to Indians at \$148,019 (the highest). The same is true for different Latino subgroups—Dominican households earned the least at \$43,851, while Argentinians earned the most at \$66,775.

Wealth is the difference between what a household owns and what they owe (e.g., credit card debt). Wealth allows a household to make investments, such as a college education, or maintain its quality of life when income falls.

Wealth disparities between racial and ethnic groups are significant (Figure 2.4, p. 28). The typical white household

had a median net worth of \$134,000 in 2013, compared to \$14,000 and \$11,000 for Latino and African American households, respectively (Pew Research Center 2016b). This means that whites held 12.1 times more wealth than African Americans and 9.8 times more wealth than Latinos.

Significant declines in wealth among African Americans and Latinos during the recent Great Recession contributed to this trend (Thompson and Suarez 2016). There are many reasons why people of color have faced greater losses regarding homeownership and related wealth in the nation. One of the reasons is that people of color borrowed more than any other group from 2004 to 2007. One such example comes from Illinois, where the average loan made to Latinos in 2007 was \$187,000 while loans made to whites averaged \$171,000. The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data shows that Latinos in Illinois borrowed about \$42 billion between 2004 and 2006 (García 2014). While many Latinos during this period became homeowners for the first time or refinanced their current homes to pay for their growing expenses, home prices started to decline sharply in subsequent years, to about half of their original value. On average, La-

tinians in Illinois experienced a total decrease in home value and wealth of close to \$21 billion. According to the Pew Research Center, 28 percent of the Latino population in Illinois owed more in 2008 on their home than its actual worth, or were underwater (Taylor 2012).

Equity earned from homeownership constitutes a large portion of household wealth in the United States. Homeowners of color have historically had less of an ability to build home equity due in part to the discriminatory rating systems used by the HOLC and FHA discussed in the previous section. In turn, wealth in the form of a down payment often is needed to enter into homeownership. Thus, differences in wealth among racial and ethnic groups are associated with differences in homeownership and the ability to live in primarily owner-occupied communities.

People of color have historically had lower homeownership rates than whites (Pew Research Center 2016c). As shown in Figure 2.5 (p. 29), in 2010 the white homeownership rate was 71 percent, compared to 59 percent among Asian Americans, 52 percent among American Indians and Alaskan Natives, 48 percent among Latinos, and 45 percent among Afri-

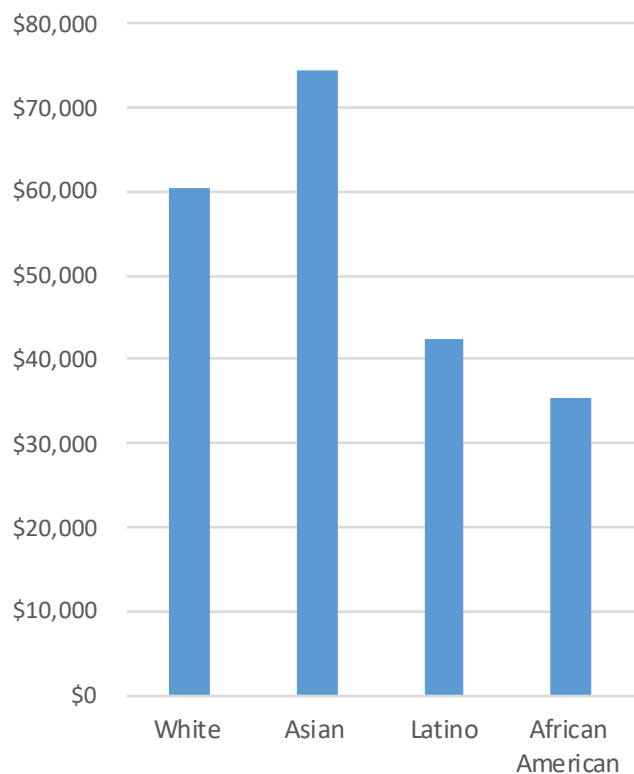


Figure 2.3. Racial and ethnic differences in median household income in the United States (data from U.S. Census Bureau 2017b)

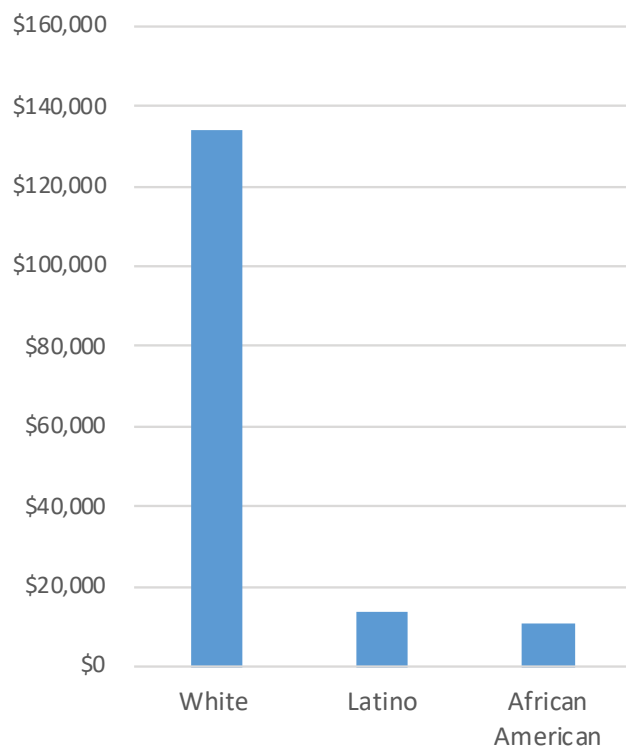


Figure 2.4. Median wealth ratios for whites, Latinos, and African Americans in 2013 (data from Pew Research Center 2016b)

can Americans (FFEIC 2012). In the United States owning a home has been a way of achieving socioeconomic mobility; for example, families might take second mortgages to pay for their children's college educations.

English Language Ability

Disparities in access to housing opportunities arise not only because of economic factors but also because of linguistic factors. About 62 million immigrants spoke a language other than English at home in 2010 (Figure 2.6, p. 30), representing about 300 languages (U.S. Census Bureau 2013).

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, individuals who do not speak English as their primary language and who have a limited ability to read, speak, write, or understand English can be considered limited English proficient (LEP). About nine percent of people in the U.S. were LEP in 2013, an 80 percent increase from 1990 (U. S. Census Bureau 2013). Rates of LEP vary geographically. California had the highest number of LEP people in 2013 (seven million), followed by Texas (3.5 million). The highest proportion of LEP individuals originated from Mexico (39 percent), followed by China (six percent).

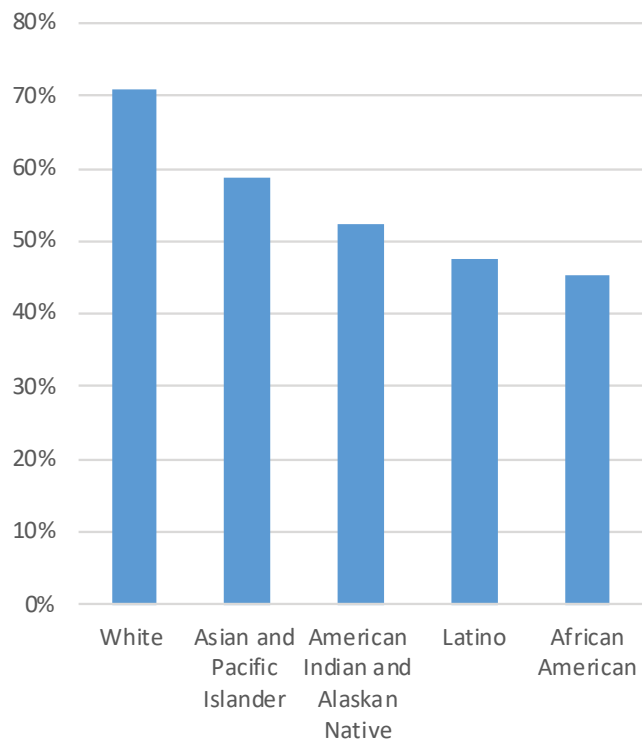


Figure 2.5. Homeownership rate for racial and ethnic groups in the United States, 2010 (2010 American Community Survey)

Being LEP affects access to housing in several ways. On the one hand, LEP individuals may not know about housing opportunities that are communicated primarily in English. LEP individuals are at greater risk of being misled by housing documents that are not translated into their language; people speaking uncommon languages and dialects are at particular risk. For instance, language difficulties during the process of loan origination and refinancing may have contributed to higher rates of foreclosure among Latinos and Asians during the recent Great Recession (Lee, Wong, and Pfeiffer 2017).

On the other hand, LEP people may seek out communities where others speak their language, which may aid in the process of finding housing (Barrio et al. 2008). In addition, it may be easier for people to find employment or start a business when they live among others that speak their language or understand their background (Portes and Böröcz 1989). Living among coethnics can be comforting and politically empowering. This is especially true for people who speak English as a second language. Further, living together helps people from particular racial and ethnic groups reproduce their culture (Portes 2000).

Consequences of Racial and Ethnic Concentration

Racial and ethnic concentration has positive and negative consequences. Chief among these detriments is poverty concentration, followed by police violence and imprisonment.

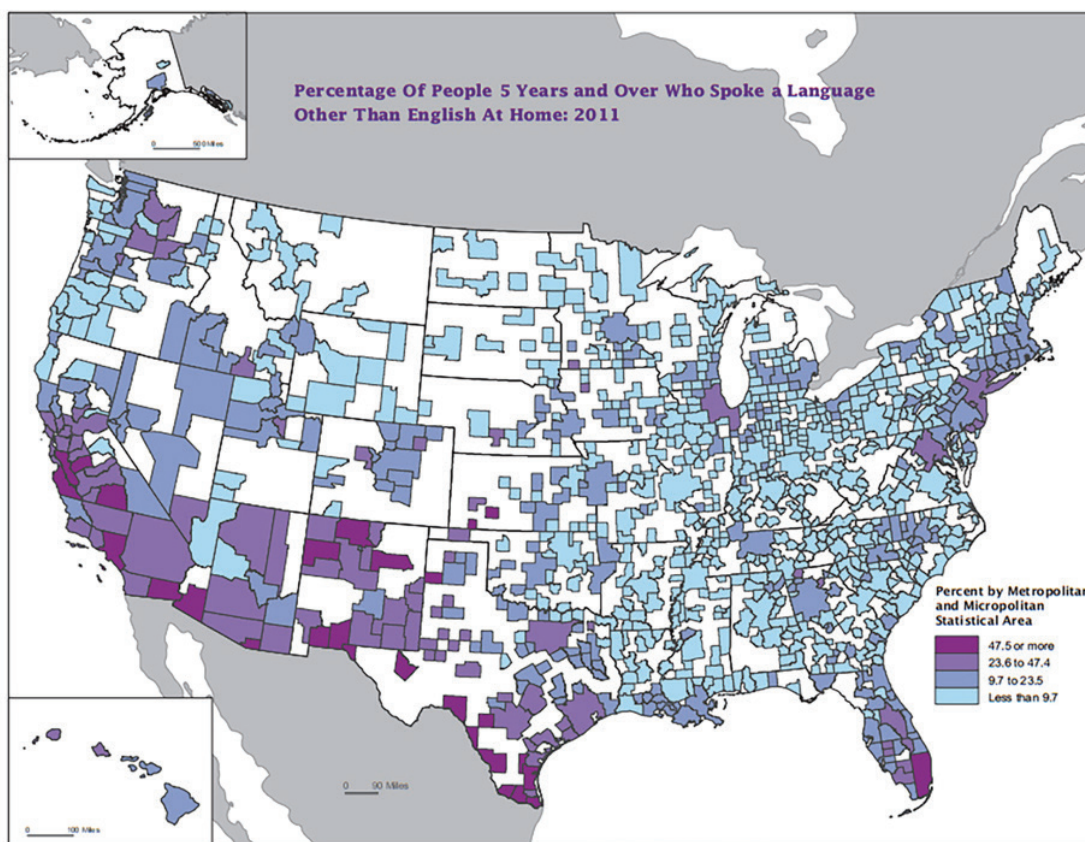
Poverty Concentration

The U.S. Census Bureau defines a poverty area as census tracts or blocks where 20 percent or more of families are below the poverty line. High-poverty neighborhoods can be defined as those with poverty rates higher than 20 percent, whereas low-poverty neighborhoods are those with less than 10 percent of families below the poverty line.

From 1990 to the present, the typical African American and Latino household has lived in a high-poverty neighborhood (about 20 percent of families below poverty line), while the standard white and Asian family has lived in a low- to moderate-poverty neighborhood (about 10 percent of families below the poverty line) (Logan 2016).

Poverty is much higher in concentrated communities of color than in concentrated white communities for the reasons explained in the previous section. People of color, particularly African Americans and Latinos, have on average significantly lower incomes and levels of wealth than whites. And institutions such as banks have historically discriminated against people and communities of color, which has limited their ability to increase their income or

Figure 2.6. Percentage of people age five and older who spoke a language other than English in 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau 2010)



wealth over time—and at worst has extracted wealth, such as through foreclosures.

Places of concentrated poverty offer less educational opportunity and have higher unemployment rates, worse environmental quality and health, and more police violence and imprisonment than low-poverty places. Heavily minority schools tend to have higher dropout rates and poverty levels, less skilled and experienced teachers, lower test scores, fewer college prep courses, and lower levels of college attendance than more integrated or white schools, which are overwhelmingly located in suburban areas (Frankenberg 2013). The quality of the primary and secondary school that students attend affects their college attendance, future employment, and the quality of the neighborhoods where they will live in the future (Green, Sánchez, and Germain 2017). In this way, poverty concentration becomes a cycle.

The evidence on environmental disparities is particularly strong in the planning literature, as these disparities are influenced by the long history of siting hazardous land uses in communities of color, a process with which many planners

were complicit at the time (Bullard 1983). For instance, many people of color live near former industrial areas with toxic hazards designated by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency as brownfields (Solitare and Greenberg 2002), or experience poor air quality due to living near high-traffic areas (e.g., a highway) or industry (Gunier et al. 2003). Some people of color also lived or worked in former military sites, which were proving grounds for toxins such as napalm, uranium, and Agent Orange, among other contaminants, resulting in higher incidences of cancer (Haddock et al. 2009). Concentrated neighborhood poverty also goes hand in hand with police violence and imprisonment.

Police Violence and Imprisonment

A Pew Research Center survey, sampling 4,538 U.S. adults, found that African Americans and whites have different views on how local police treat people of color when combating crime (Morin and Stepler 2016). About 25 percent of African Americans said that the deaths of African Americans during recent encounters with police are signs of severe social prob-

lems, including racism. But 44 percent of all participants said these are isolated incidents. Only one-third of African Americans (33 percent) said the police used the right amount of force, while more than half of Latinos (63 percent) and nearly three-quarters of whites (74 percent) agreed with that statement.

Police racial violence is a longstanding outcome of white racism and racial and ethnic segregation. Many people of color experience police racial violence; however, African Americans experience this issue more frequently and intensely. The issue of police shootings of African American youth gained national attention in the late 2000s and continues today. Two high-profile examples were the deaths of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida, in 2012 and Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, in 2014. These types of incidents, which continue to occur—followed by the lack of punishment given to the killers—gave birth to the #BlackLivesMatter (BLM) protest movement, which Lisa Turner De Vera and Tisha Holmes explore in depth in the sidebar on p. 32.

These cases attracted attention together with the associated protests in the United States. Many academic planners joined the national conversation (Alba 2012; Steil and Mehta 2017; Zapata and Bates 2015; Simpson 2015). They argued that police violence has disproportionately affected people of color, particularly African Americans; there is a strong connection between low-income neighborhoods, race, ethnicity, policing, and imprisonment; people in low-income areas are more likely to be detained by the police and become involved with the penal system from a young age and for minor offenses such as carrying marijuana; and because low-income neighborhoods are disproportionately composed of people of color, residents in these areas are also more likely to face arrest and imprisonment, at the disproportionate rate of 70 percent.

Another issue related to racial and ethnic inequalities in the experience of imprisonment is the use of prisons as an economic development strategy in depressed rural towns and communities (Leigh and Blakely 2013). About 70 percent of prisons are built in rural areas; these are often poor communities with larger percentages of Latino and African Americans in southern states like Florida, Georgia, Oklahoma, and Texas. These rural communities hope that by creating employment they can solve some of the larger problems that plagued them for decades, such as failing schools, poverty, crime, and racial and ethnic segregation (Eason 2017).

However, building prisons should be a strategy of last resort, as the for-profit nature of the private corporations that manage half of the nation's prisons contribute to these inequalities. Because these corporations calculate their profits based on occupancy rates, this means that they need a

constant influx of inmates to make money (Alexander 2010). About 50 percent of these private facilities are detention centers that serve the needs of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. For small southwestern communities near the border, these facilities have come to represent a steady source of income and employment.

ISSUES AFFECTING IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Immigrant communities, including foreign-born and migrant workers, face uniquely challenging issues. This section discusses some of the inequities that these groups are experiencing while also highlighting the roles of cities and other governments in combating these inequities. It also introduces measures that can help decision makers, including planners, to address these issues and problems going forward.

Immigration Enforcement and Sanctuary Cities

Another pressing issue that is contributing to racial and ethnic inequality in the United States is the increasing federal antagonism toward immigrants. The incarceration of immigrants by Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE) increased by 30 percent (from 110,568 to 143,470 people) from 2016 to 2017, following two administrative orders signed by President Donald Trump on January 25, 2017: Executive Order 13767, *Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements*, and Executive Order 13768, *Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States* (Bialek 2018). Order 13767 directs a wall to be built along the U.S.–Mexico border, while Order 13768 disqualifies “sanctuary jurisdictions” from federal grants (Executive Office of the President 2017). Sanctuary jurisdictions or cities are defined as spaces where local authorities limit their cooperation with the national government’s effort to enforce immigration law.

These increases in immigrant incarceration have been highest in Miami (76 percent), followed by Dallas (71 percent) and St. Paul (67 percent), as shown in Table 2.2 (p. 35). Other cities experiencing dramatic increases were Boston, Atlanta, Detroit, and New Orleans (Bialek 2018). Immigrants have been incarcerated regardless of whether they have a criminal record or not, which is a departure from the Obama administration’s policies that gave precedence to arrests of those found guilty of serious crimes.

A number of sanctuary cities, such as New York City, Seattle, and El Paso (Figure 2.7, p. 36), are developing inclusive immigration policies. Examples of these policies include advising law enforcement to prioritize providing

#BLACK LIVES MATTER—#DOES PLANNING MATTER?

Lisa Turner De Vera and Tisha Holmes, Florida State University

The planning profession and academia have long been occupied with the manifestations of social exclusion and the opportunities to combat segregation in the built environment (Chapple 2015; Fainstein 2011). Focusing on the design of cities and their role in shaping quality of life for all communities sits squarely in our domain. Yet some public policies continue to reproduce conditions that turn cities into sites of exclusion and oppression of marginalized populations (Connolly 2016; Sharkey 2013).

Black Lives Matter (BLM; <http://blacklivesmatter.com>) embodies the modern-day outcry of a historical struggle for justice spilling onto the highly contested public spaces and streets of these spatially segregated and socially marginalized communities. This sidebar calls on the planning profession and academy to wrestle with the problems of institutionalized racism and environments that promote violence by examining the evolution of the BLM movement.

Historically, violence against black people in the United States has been severe and organized (Badouin 2011). Examples of organized physical violence come in the form of lynchings, shootings, dog attacks, and police action emboldened by political support against a portion of society identified as “other” and “inferior” (Evans 2009). Present-day organized violence on the daily lives of black people often takes the form of repressive housing and economic policies. Violent architecture and planning includes the placement of barriers—socioeconomic or physical—which threaten and harm individuals or social groups. Violence can also be perpetuated through the persistent presence of spaces that represent oppressive or violent acts.

When spaces as places of community and identity experience acts of violence and oppression, the consistent imprint of control by violence is embedded in spatial memory. Spatial violence in the form of policies that control the use of space and behavior in space for the purpose of cultural subjugation and economic exclusion blocks the agency and political capital needed for community members to demand justice.

These policies are commonplace in our history (redlining, segregation) and continue to be levied through urban renewal and even land-use policies that restrict urban agriculture. The addition of architectural features designed to exclude (high-security areas, razor wire, gates and guard houses) add a physical presence of violent control. In addition, the memory of violent acts, especially brought on by police brutality, live on in cities as a constant reminder of the political and economic impotence of the community. The result is a constant spatial experience of violence in the form of outside control and the inability to change the physical, social, economic, and psychological environment. Meanwhile, the legitimization of white supremacy and institutionalized racism go unrealized by those with privileges of political and social power, who are often blithely dismissive of the social strife endured by urban black communities (Feagin 2013).

Protests represent the tipping point of political action by those immersed in a dehumanizing and blighted reality of “otherness” (Tyner 2011; Mumford 2008; USFWS 2003). BLM was born as a hashtag on social media in 2013 with a mission to direct a spotlight on systemic racism and the disproportionate

levels of violence incurred against black people at the hands of law enforcement (Dunham and Petersen 2017; Rickford 2015). Beyond the protests against specific instances of police-involved killings, BLM is a call to action to resist racial profiling, police brutality, and criminal justice systems that maintain disparities, intentionally target minorities, and leave black communities powerless at the hands of the state.

The killing of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin by neighborhood watchman George Zimmerman in Sanford, Florida, was the initial spark to a larger conflagration of BLM street protests and social mobilization (Fulton and Martin 2017). Martin’s death and Zimmerman’s eventual acquittal exposed the longstanding sentiment in low-income neighborhoods that black lives don’t matter—socially, politically, morally, or legally. #BlackLivesMatter shifted from social media to the realm of public spaces in 2014, when Michael Brown was shot by police officer Darren Wilson in the streets of Ferguson, Missouri, and Eric Garner died after being held in a chokehold by police on a street corner in Staten Island, New York (Powell 2016).

Several other high-profile fatal interactions between unarmed black men and the police ignited emotional debates on the relationship between race and policing (see Table 2.1 for a sample of cases). Each incident precipitated massive demonstrations, marches for peace, and in some cases disruptive violence that raged for weeks after the incidents occurred. From the ashes of these devastating killings rose the protest chants of “I can’t breathe,” “Hands up, don’t shoot,” “16 shots,” and “No justice, no peace” that underscore the seemingly disposable

TABLE 2.1. EXAMPLES OF POLICE-INVOLVED KILLINGS THAT PROMPTED BLM PROTESTS

Name	Age	Date of Incident	Location	Circumstances	Outcome
Bothan Shem Jean	26	December 2018	Dallas	Off-duty officer Amber Guyger shot Jean when she mistakenly entered Jean's apartment instead of her own and thought he was an intruder. Guyger stated that after she issued verbal commands in the dark that were ignored, she fired two shots, hitting Jean once in the torso. She told authorities she administered first aid and realized she was in the wrong apartment after turning on the lights while on the phone with 911. Jean died at the hospital.	Guyger was initially charged with manslaughter by the district attorney's office; however a grand jury decided that murder was the appropriate charge. An internal affairs investigation resulted in Guyger's termination from the police force. Jean's family filed a lawsuit against Guyer and the city for excessive use of force and violation of Jean's constitutional and civil rights.
Laquan McDonald	17	October 2014	Chicago	McDonald was confronted after a police report said that he was carrying a knife and breaking into cars. After slicing a tire on a patrol vehicle and damaging the windshield, McDonald walked away and was repeatedly told to drop the knife. He was shot 16 times in 15 seconds while walking away from officers. The incident was recorded on police car dash camera video, which was released a year after the shooting occurred after much political pushback.	Officer Jason Van Dyke was found guilty of second-degree murder and 16 counts of aggravated battery; three other officers involved in the shooting and alleged cover up are on trial; the Justice Department found systemic abuse by Chicago Police Department. The city settled with the family for \$5 million.
Eric Garner	43	July 2014	Staten Island, New York	Garner was suspected of illegally selling loose cigarettes on a street corner. He lost consciousness and suffered cardiac arrest after being put in a chokehold by one of three arresting officers. Video recorded on a cell phone camera.	Death was ruled a homicide; Officer Daniel Pantaleo, who administered the chokehold, was cleared of criminal charges by a separate grand jury; all other officers were granted immunity. Family was awarded \$5.9 million.
Michael Brown	18	August 2014	Ferguson, Missouri	Brown was approached by Officer Darren Wilson in a patrol car while walking home from a convenience store where he was a suspect in a robbery. An altercation and struggle ensued and two shots were fired. Brown fled, stopped, turned around, and moved toward Wilson. Wilson fired 12 shots; Brown was hit seven times and killed. Brown's body lay in the street for four hours before being removed.	Grand jury elected to bring no criminal charges against Wilson; federal Justice Department investigated the city of Ferguson and found widespread racial bias and constitutional violations.
Tamir Rice	12	November 2014	Cleveland	Rice was shot within two seconds after police arrived in a park after a 911 call complained he was pointing a gun (a toy) at people in a park. The shooting was recorded on a surveillance camera.	Grand jury declined to criminally charge Officer Timothy Loehmann. Two and a half years later, Loehmann was fired for providing false information on his job application. The city announced administrative changes and agreed to a \$6 million settlement.
Freddie Gray	25	April 2015	Baltimore	Gray was arrested after running away from police. He was found unresponsive and not breathing after riding unsecured in a police transport wagon. He died a week later.	Six officers were charged with crimes including manslaughter and murder; one trial ended in a hung jury and others were acquitted or had charges dropped. Family was awarded \$6.4 million.
Walter Scott	50	April 2015	North Charleston, South Carolina	Scott fled a traffic stop and was shot five times while running away from the officer. The incident was partially recorded on a cell phone camera.	After a mistrial for murder or voluntary manslaughter, Officer Michael Slieger was convicted after pleading guilty to civil rights charges and sentenced to 20 years in prison; the city agreed to pay the Scott family \$6.5 million.

Sources: Arnold 2018; Buchanan et al. 2015; Husain 2017; Lee and Park 2018; Mirzoeff 2015; Wheeler 2015

nature of unarmed black and brown bodies and the way in which these killings occurred without repercussion. A stark example was in Ferguson, where Michael Brown's death prompted weeks of demonstrations, clashes between protesters and law enforcement, and the eventual deployment of the National Guard. The subsequent decision not to indict Darren Wilson triggered angry protests in cities across the United States, and in Ferguson, demonstrations devolved into riots. Buildings and cars were set on fire and several businesses were looted, damaged, and burned (Buchanan et al. 2015).

BLM has been described as “not your grandfather’s civil rights movement” and distinguishes itself as distinct from the 1960s civil rights movement, as it favors a horizontal ethic of organizing, democratic inclusion, and grassroots activism and community engagement (Cobb 2016). However, just as the civil rights movement of the 1960s came from a tipping point of society, so the BLM movement arrived as a result of saturated frustration in majority black/minority cities across the country.

Research has demonstrated that the civil rights movement was directly and positively related to shaping policy outcomes by signaling policy preferences of specific segments of the electorate and propelling the passage of public policies such as the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, desegregation, and fair housing laws (Andrews and Gaby 2015; Chen and Phinney 2004). Like social protest movements before it, the BLM movement presents opportunities for enlightenment and energized attention from planners and policy makers to develop progressive public policies aimed at addressing the social conditions at the foundation of racial disparity and violence.

There are growing calls in progressive discourses to examine how plan-

ning practitioners and academics engage with the disproportionate trends of fatal police shootings of young black males, the tenuous relationships between police and their communities, the overrepresentation of minority groups in prison populations, and the latent effects of institutionalized racism permeating criminal justice systems in the United States (Simpson 2015; Lowe 2017).

At this time of civil unrest and division, we, as planners, should turn a critical lens on our own role in building inclusive environments and raising community political capital, trust, and partnerships to reduce spatial, socioeconomic, and cultural segregation. We should be asking ourselves: What role we can play in reducing all forms of violence through promoting cultural competency and reducing implicit bias? How can planners apply their skills of negotiation and engagement to build partnerships between groups to turn spaces of contestation and violence into spaces of free expression and collaboration? How can the planning profession and academy demographically reflect the growing racial and ethnic diversity in U.S. cities and regions?

The time is now for urban planners to embrace their unique positions as agents of enlightenment and change. The planning academy heralds planning as a position of advocacy and community participation through coursework and staples of planning epistemology. We build planning degrees with the basics of Paul Davidoff, Jane Jacobs, David Harvey, and William Julius Wilson. Planners should be focused on how we can design and direct development in ways that reduce the disinvestment and isolation of historically disenfranchised communities by promoting mixed-income developments, vibrant public spaces and parks, and integrated community-building events.

We are uniquely qualified to foster cooperation, negotiation, and economic and social development—movements that can target the underlying sustainers of inequality. Our tools of public engagement, conflict resolution, and visioning can bring police and communities together to build bridges, collaborate, and engage with each other to achieve common goals of protecting public safety and well-being. However, like many police departments, the profession and academia continue to struggle with challenges of race and gender representation and diversity (Sweet and Etienne 2011). In order to effectively engage with the complexities of planning and policing with racially heterogeneous communities, planning must also work to develop diversity in educational training, research, and cultural perspectives that help us reflect on and address our implicit biases, broaden the range of voices in the planning process, and build mutual respect and trust across our varied constituencies.

Planners do not have the luxury of claiming apolitical positions. What we do impacts lives and we are ethically obligated to take a stand. Whether racism and racist ideology is waning or not, our cities require our action. Seeking foundational solutions is our task. We can begin by preparing planners to be competent and aware public administrators and activists who help shape cities to be shining beacons of opportunity where all lives matter equally. Who else is trained and responsible for securing that possibility but us?

TABLE 2.2. ICE ARRESTS BY U.S. CITY IN 2017

City	Arrests
Dallas	16,520
Houston	13,565
Atlanta	13,551
Chicago	8,604
San Antonio	8,510
Los Angeles	8,419
New Orleans	7,968
San Francisco	7,231
Phoenix	6,492
Miami	6,192
Salt Lake City	5,177
Philadelphia	4,938
San Diego	4,551
St. Paul	4,175
Washington, D.C.	4,175
Detroit	3,409
Seattle	3,376
Newark	3,189
Boston	2,834
Denver	2,746
New York City	2,576
El Paso	1,892
Baltimore	1,666
Buffalo	1,494

Source: Data from U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (Bialik 2018)

public safety over immigration enforcement; creating funds to support immigrants who are facing litigation that might lead to deportation, including paying for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) renewal application fees; and issuing municipal ID cards to residents regardless of citizenship status, which can be used to access local services. The Trump administration has fought back against these sanctuary cities by threatening to withhold federal funds and through a series of lawsuits challenging their status.

Foreign-Born Workers

In 2017, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) reported that 27.4 million foreign-born persons participated in the U.S. labor force. The labor force participation rates of foreign-born individuals from Latin America was 47.9 percent, while Asians accounted for 25.2 percent (BLS 2017).

Most foreign-born individuals worked in the service sectors, including food service, cleaning, laundry, meatpacking, and assembly, as opposed to managerial positions. The wages earned in these sectors tend to be lower. The median weekly earnings of foreign-born workers in 2017 was \$730, compared to \$885 for those who were native-born (BLS 2017). One reason for lower wages is that those who are foreign born are less likely to have some college or an associate degree.

Wide wage differences exist between immigrants who have become naturalized citizens and those who have not—even after controlling for factors such as level of educational attainment, length of stay in the United States, and work experience. For example, undocumented men earned about 25 percent less than foreign-born but naturalized immigrant men, and for undocumented women the gap was even wider, at closer to 40 percent (BLS 2017).

The poverty rate among the immigrant population in 2015 was 17.3 percent, only somewhat higher than the 14.3 percent rate among those who were native-born (BLS 2017). Again, the most striking differences were observed among those immigrants who were undocumented or had green cards, work visas, or other visas, versus those immigrants who had become citizens. For example, the poverty rate among noncitizen immigrants was almost twice of that of naturalized citizens. For both naturalized citizens and nonnaturalized citizens, there was a positive correlation between higher levels of poverty and most recent year of entry into the United States.

Despite the higher poverty rates among immigrants, nine percent of all immigrants compared to 15 percent of the total U.S. population do not receive benefits such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (food stamps) and Social Security, although these workers also pay taxes that support those programs (BLS 2017).

Farm Workers

It is estimated that between three million to five million farm workers are hired by U.S. farms every year (Beals 2018). The vast majority of farm workers help grow and harvest popular crops that include corn, lettuce, cabbage, tomatoes, carrots, peppers, squash, soybeans, and asparagus.

Three out of every four farm workers are foreign born. About 70 percent of foreign-born workers come from Mexi-



Figure 2.7. U.S. sanctuary cities map (Burzum/Wikimedia Commons)

co, in particular Central Mexico and other rural areas (Hernandez, Gabbard, and Carroll 2016). About half of foreign-born farm workers have H-2A guest worker visas and about half had no authorization to work legally (Farmaid 2018).

According to the 2013–2014 National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) published in 2016 by the U.S. Department of Labor, most foreign-born farm workers have been living in the United States for years (Hernandez, Gabbard, and Carroll 2016). Only 16 percent qualified as “migrants” according to the U.S. Department of Labor’s definition, meaning that they lived 75 or more miles in the previous year from the farm they were currently working on. Thus, most farmworkers are either permanent U.S. residents or undocumented migrants who have come to stay and have lived in the United States for years, though many assume that most farmworkers are undocumented migrants who come in and then leave. Whether they are citizens or temporary residents, these farmworkers are community constituents who may be living in poor and unsafe conditions and are in great need of advocates like planners to help address inequity issues (Arcury and Quandt 2011).

Often workers traveled to farms with children under the age of 18. In 2010 there were a half-million children that moved with their parents following the harvest (McCurdy and Kwan 2012). These children may experience learning difficulties because they move so often and must constant-

ly break social connections with friends, teachers, tutors, and mentors. Furthermore, their school credits might not transfer and their curriculum changes constantly, making it hard to create any sense of continuity. Moreover, children of farmworkers may not have downtime like other children, as they often help their parents at work. According to the Fair Labor Standards Act, children can start working at age 10 during summers and can work “adult” hours starting at age 12 (U.S. Department of Labor 2018).

According to NAWS, U.S. farm workers on average had only completed an eighth-grade education and their annual incomes were between \$12,500 and \$14,999, considerably below the federal poverty level of \$12,140 for one individual or \$25,100 for a family of four (Families USA 2018). Thus, almost all farm workers live in poverty. On a positive note, over the last decade, because of advances in technology (e.g., greenhouse systems), at least 25 percent of farm workers are now able to work year-round and poverty has therefore decreased somewhat among this subgroup. Still, the majority (60 percent) work seasonally, which affects their annual incomes. Many farm workers need public assistance. Nationwide, about 43 percent of them received aid (Hernandez, Gabbard, and Carroll 2016).

It is important that planners understand the disparities that exist in the working and living conditions of farm work-

ers. According to the Housing Assistance Council, in 2011 about 15 percent of farm workers lived in employer-sponsored homes (HAC 2011). Yet, many farm workers struggle to find affordable quality housing. As early as 1956 the American Planning Association called attention to these concerns in PAS Report 93, *Migratory Labor Camps in the Community*, and recommended that rural communities adopt zoning provisions for migratory labor camps (ASPO 1956). These ordinances would allow jurisdictions to be able to provide building permits and enforce housing codes for migrants, dealing with location, building size, population density, operations, time limits for occupancy, and other standards.

Besides housing, farm workers need the same services as regular community members, including schools, transportation, medical facilities, and day care services. It is the responsibility of local governments, including planning departments, to make sure that these basic needs are met.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed some of the significant challenges faced by people of color that contribute to persistent racial and ethnic inequalities in the United States. Understanding the history and persistence of these inequalities helps to reveal which racial and ethnic groups may be struggling in the communities that planners serve and provides guidance in giving these groups voice, power, and a better quality of life. It is also important to understand mistakes made in the past so as not to repeat them in the present.

As demonstrated in this chapter, communities of color vary widely. Diverse communities might be composed of different races and ethnicities, with different histories and issues that affect them. The factors that affect these communities also depend on geography, from rural to urban spaces, and from one part of the country to another. While it is helpful for planners to be aware of the general histories and trends explained in this chapter, they must also explore local histories and factors around diversity in their own communities to better understand the needs and disadvantages of people of color and help them better overcome these challenges. Planners have a role to play in helping to remedy the challenges faced by people of color, particularly those that stem in part from planning-related processes, such as land-use and housing policies, which may lead to place-based inequalities.

The goal of this chapter has been to understand inequality—how to identify it as it existed in the past and persists today, and how to avoid it in the future. Segregation, dis-

crimination, and racial oppression are chief explanatory factors for understanding the inequalities that have plagued many people of color in the United States. But inequality does not have to be permanent. Instead, planners can help reconfigure their towns and cities and work to provide more housing opportunities, improved access to income, cheaper transport, and better services to help overcome and eliminate the barriers to upward mobility. The following chapters delve deeper into the intersections between race and place and offer a wealth of strategies and tools that planners can use to engage people of color in planning processes and create better communities for all.

CHAPTER 3

DIVERSE PLACES AND PLANNING CHALLENGES

The demographic changes described in Chapter 1 are increasing the racial and ethnic diversity of U.S. communities. Many kinds of racially and ethnically diverse places are emerging from these shifts. Two types of quickly changing places frequently encountered by planners but overlooked by the planning profession are diverse suburbs and gentrifying central city neighborhoods.

Diverse suburbs are places located within urban regions, but not within the central cities of their regions, that have sizable proportions of both whites and people of color. Gentrifying central city neighborhoods are places located within central cities that are in the process of demographic and socioeconomic change, which puts their lower-income residents, who may be people of color, at risk of displacement. Interrelated factors, such as decisions about regional housing investment, changing housing and locational preferences, weak central city affordable housing policies, and reductions in housing discrimination, are helping to create these types of diverse places.

Diverse suburbs and gentrifying central city neighborhood are experiencing distinct conditions and trajectories, which create a range of challenges for planners. Examples include nonconforming uses and code violations, conflicts over the use of public space, social service and amenity mismatches, and housing affordability. Addressing these issues may require decision making that must balance working for the broader public interest with meeting the needs of diverse racial and ethnic groups in these communities. These challenges may become more widespread across the various places that planners serve as the United States moves towards becoming a majority-minority nation.

DIVERSE SUBURBS

An urban area can be broken down into two broad kinds of places: the central city and the suburbs, which comprise the less developed portions of the urban area. The image of a mostly white suburban America has been dramatically altered in recent years. In 2010, half of African Americans and

over half of Asians, Latinos, and immigrants lived in the suburbs (Frey 2011; Suro, Wilson, and Singer 2011).

But not all of these new suburban residents are well off. Poverty rates more than doubled in many metro area suburbs during the 2000s (Berube and Kneebone 2011). These trends have continued. Between 2010 and 2015, the number of residents living below the poverty line in large metro area suburbs grew by 57 percent. In 2015, poverty rates in U.S. suburbs had grown to 11.2 percent. Though this was still significantly less than the poverty rate in large cities (19.6 percent), for the first time there were more poor people living in suburbs than in cities (16 million versus 13 million) (Kneebone 2017).

Diverse suburbs may be defined as suburbs that have sizeable proportions of whites and people of color. In a diverse suburb, 20 to 60 percent of the population is made up of people of color (Orfield and Luce 2012). Fifteen percent of localities in urban regions in the United States were diverse suburbs based on this rule of thumb in 2000; by 2010 this had grown to 21 percent of U.S. localities. There were close to 1,400 diverse suburbs nationwide in 2010, comprising a population of about 53 million people (Orfield and Luce 2013).

Diverse suburbs are growing because of the migration of people of color, immigrants, and poor people away from city centers. Three interrelated factors have contributed to these groups' migrations. First, legislation during the 1960s civil rights era helped to combat housing and employment discrimination and opened up the suburbs to people of color (Schwartz 2015; Pattillo-McCoy 2000). Second, high housing costs in the central cities during the 1990s and 2000s encouraged working- and middle-class people of color and immigrants to move to the suburbs in search of affordable homeownership (Pfeiffer 2012), a trend which continues today. Poor people also left for the suburbs in search of

cheaper rents and a higher quality of life. The Great Recession expanded the number of rental opportunities available in some suburbs, as investors purchased former foreclosures and converted their properties to rentals, at times renting to families holding Housing Choice Vouchers (Pfeiffer and Lucio 2015). Third, the transformation of historical central-city African American communities to majority Latino and the redevelopment of central-city Chinatowns and other ethnic communities encouraged people of color to claim new places as their own in the suburbs (Wiese 2005; Cashin 2005; Lacy 2007; Pfeiffer 2012).

Two specific kinds of diverse suburbs that have arisen from the dynamics described above are the “ethnoburb” and the post–civil rights suburb, both of which have experienced dramatic changes in their racial and ethnic diversities over the latter decades of the 20th century and the early decades of the 21st century. These types of suburbs are worthy of attention because they are frequently encountered by planners working in suburban jurisdictions in large urban areas, but they appear to be relatively overlooked by the planning profession. They provide important insights into the kinds of changes that may become more widespread in the suburbs in a majority-minority America.

Ethnoburbs

“Ethnoburbs” are suburbs that have clusters of residents and businesses from a particular ethnic group (Li 2012). The ethnic group may not comprise the majority of the suburb’s population but has an enduring influence on the culture and built environment of the place.

Ethnoburbs at first glance may seem similar to ethnic enclaves, which also have clusters of ethnic residents and businesses, but they differ in that they are more affluent and are formed more by choice than constraint. People move to ethnic enclaves out of economic necessity or a lack of information about opportunities elsewhere. In contrast, people who move to ethnoburbs act on their preference to live with coethnics, even though they often have the means and information to live elsewhere.

Ethnoburbs are found across the United States. One example of a region with a wealth of established African American ethnoburbs is Prince George’s County, Maryland, a suburban county of about 900,000, located just east of Washington, D.C. The county is 65 percent African American, 17 percent Latino, and 14 percent white. With a median household income of about \$74,000, it is home to some of the nation’s wealthiest African American communities (U.S. Census Bureau 2016).



Figure 3.1. Atlantic Times Square, a mixed use development in Monterey Park, California (Flickr photo/Ed Kwon (CC BY-ND 2.0))

An example of an established Asian ethnoburb is Monterey Park, California, a suburb of about 61,000, located east of Los Angeles in the San Gabriel Valley (Figure 3.1). Its population mix is about 67 percent Asian, 27 percent Latino, and five percent white. Much of the Asian population is Chinese or Chinese American. Monterey Park has the largest concentration of people of Chinese descent in the United States. It has a median household income of \$55,000 (U.S. Census Bureau 2016).

Post–Civil Rights Suburbs

Post–civil rights suburbs matured after gains were made in racial and ethnic equality during the 1960s civil rights era (Pfeiffer 2016). Complex housing and planning dynamics fostered racial integration in these suburbs and space was less racially marked, meaning there was less of a sense of who lived where based on race (Pfeiffer 2012). These suburbs typically were developed out of farmland and open space areas that were located far from poor, racially segregated communities in the central city. Families moved into post–civil rights suburbs without knowing what the eventual racial and ethnic makeup of their community would be (Pfeiffer 2012).

In addition, these suburbs had greater planned and unplanned housing tenure diversity than older suburbs. The frequent use of planned unit development (PUD) zoning designations for new subdivisions in some places allowed for a mix of housing types. High foreclosure rates during the Great Recession in the 2000s also provided an opportunity for investors to purchase properties and convert them to rentals, further increasing housing diversity.



Figure 3.2. Avondale, Arizona (Flickr photo/ Kevin Dooley (CC BY 2.0))

Post–civil rights suburbs are defined as places that had 75 percent or more of their housing built after 1969 and are located within commuting distance of at least one large city, but they are not the largest cities in their regions (Pfeiffer 2016). Applying these criteria, there were 1,510 post–civil rights suburbs in 88 of the 100 largest metro regions in the United States as of 2000. Most are located in the Sun Belt (70 percent), with about 40 percent in California, Texas, and Florida (Pfeiffer 2016).

An example of a post–civil rights suburb is Avondale, Arizona, a suburb of about 80,000 located in the Phoenix region’s West Valley (Figure 3.2). About half of the population is Latino, followed by whites (34 percent) and African Americans (nine percent). The suburb has a median household income of about \$57,000 (U.S. Census Bureau 2016). Neighborhoods in Avondale experienced relatively high foreclosure rates from 2004 to 2014. Typically, at least one in 10 homes in Avondale (and often closer to one in five homes) underwent foreclosure during this period (Pfeiffer and Lucio 2015).

GENTRIFYING CENTRAL CITY NEIGHBORHOODS

Gentrifying central city neighborhoods are another kind of place experiencing dramatic demographic and socioeconomic change. One of the main differences between diverse suburbs and gentrifying central city neighborhoods is that

the former are often created by people of color moving to historically white suburbs, while the latter are often created by whites moving to central city neighborhoods that are historically home to people of color.

Diverse viewpoints exist on what defines gentrification, from sustained reinvestment in the built environment to racial, ethnic, economic, or cultural displacement (Fullilove 2005; Schlichtman, Patch, and Hill 2017). However, most agree that gentrification entails a transition from a population that is lower in socioeconomic status to one that is higher. People with higher socioeconomic status are more likely to hold advanced degrees, have white-collar jobs, and earn more income, and they are less likely to be in poverty and unemployed (Wyly and Hammel 2004). Socioeconomic status and race and ethnicity are strongly linked in the United States, with whites typically having higher socioeconomic status, as discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, gentrification also often means increases in the white population, although exceptions abound.

Increasing rents are a good indication that a central city has gentrifying neighborhoods. Table 3.1 (p. 42) shows the top 10 cities among the 50 largest in the United States with the greatest percent changes in median rents from 2010 to 2014. Six cities experienced rent increases of 10 percent or higher during the decade. Three of these are West Coast cities that are often used as examples of gentrification: San Jose, Seattle, and Portland, Oregon. The other three—Denver, Colorado Springs, and Austin—represent emerging sites of gentrification.

TABLE 3.1. CITIES WITH THE LARGEST PERCENT CHANGES IN MEDIAN GROSS RENT, 2010–2014

City	Population	Median Rent (2010)	Median Rent (2014)	Change in Median Rent (2010–2014)
Denver	663,862	\$880	\$993	13%
San Jose	1,015,796	\$1,488	\$1,668	12%
Seattle	668,337	\$1,075	\$1,202	12%
Colorado Springs	445,820	\$831	\$923	11%
Austin	912,798	\$978	\$1,084	11%
Portland	619,445	\$910	\$1,001	10%
Oakland	413,782	\$1,076	\$1,167	8%
San Francisco	852,469	\$1,504	\$1,587	6%
Charlotte	809,974	\$894	\$943	6%
Nashville	644,008	\$841	\$887	5%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2010, 2014. Calculated for the 50 largest cities in the U.S.; rents are in 2014 \$

Drivers of Central City Gentrification

Neighborhoods within central cities gentrify because of complex processes happening within urban regions. Three of the most important drivers are rapid reinvestment following historical disinvestment, changing preferences among young professional millennials and white baby boomers, and a lack of strong local affordable housing policies. These processes have served to increase housing costs within central cities and have contributed to the migration of poor people and people of color to the suburbs, as previously discussed.

Rapid reinvestment or redevelopment, coming in the wake of historical disinvestment, is the most significant factor contributing to the gentrification of central city neighborhoods. One example is the redevelopment of public housing in cities like Chicago, Memphis, New Orleans, and Philadelphia. These initiatives close out decades of disinvestment in public housing and pave the way for new housing and commercial investment, a process aimed at attracting more affluent residents rather than retaining low-income public housing residents (Goetz 2003; Bezalel 2016).

Reinvestment also can happen in a less coordinated way. A typical example is a neighborhood with extremely low rents and home prices, which may be a product of slack housing demand—perhaps from nearby environmental toxins—or suppressed housing demand because of institutional redlining or other forms of discrimination. The low rents attract artists or other creative individuals, who then attract amenities like coffee shops, bars, and bookstores, which then

attract real estate developers and more affluent professionals (Schlichtman, Patch, and Hill 2017; García 2018).

Changing housing and neighborhood preferences among millennials and baby boomers have also contributed to the gentrification of central city neighborhoods. Millennials are those born from 1981 to 1996 who turned 18 years old around or after 2000. Baby boomers were born after World War II, from 1946 to 1964. Millennials and baby boomers are in the life cycle stages of “emerging adulthood” and “active retirement,” respectively. Moving to new places, having new experiences, and meeting new people define these stages (Brooks 2012). Yet, older adults of color in low-income communities in the city are being displaced (García and Rúa 2017).

Survey research shows that millennials and baby boomers have higher preferences for living in communities that are compact, mixed-use, walkable, and transit accessible—conditions typical in central city downtowns—compared to previous generations at similar ages (Warren et al. 2014). The housing industry has responded to these changing preferences by investing in multifamily rentals in downtowns. Some of these new developments have “concierge-style living,” with amenities such as pet grooming, movie theatres, and electric car plug-ins (Huso 2015; Searcey 2014). There are deepening concerns that these trends are leading to a loss of housing for low-income renters in these communities (Baum-Snow and Hartley 2015).

A final driver of gentrification in central city neighborhoods is a lack of strong local policies to protect affordable



Figure 3.3. The 606, Chicago (Deirdre Pfeiffer)

housing. A loss of affordable housing makes it more difficult for low- to moderate-income people to move into a community over time. Existing less-affluent renters also risk displacement if their landlords can turn a higher profit by raising rents or converting rentals into for-sale properties. Strong affordable housing policies can protect existing renters from experiencing debilitating rent increases and help to replace lower-cost housing lost.

Bottom-Up Gentrification

One type of gentrifying central city neighborhood is the “bottom-up” gentrifying community. Bottom-up gentrification occurs organically in the absence of a significant planning process or project. This form of gentrification often arises from the confluence of a series of changes in a neighborhood, including artists moving in, as mentioned earlier. Increases in housing demand in nearby neighborhoods may increase the desirability of housing in other neighborhoods, leading to changes in rent and sale prices and, thus, demographics. This process may also occur as a domino effect, with housing price and demographic changes cascading across a large part of a central city.

Bottom-up gentrification tends to change the character of a community over an extended period of time. Changes in a neighborhood’s land use, housing stock, mix of services, and amenities often accompanies changes in its rent and demographics. Neighborhoods experiencing bottom-up gentrification often see increases in residential density over

time. Commercial and social services oriented to existing residents, such as ethnic grocery stores or youth centers, may give way to commercial services and amenities oriented to more affluent newcomers, such as boutique grocery stores and car-sharing services. Industrial land uses that offered employment to existing residents may be rezoned to residential or commercial land uses that offer housing, food, and entertainment options to newcomers.

An example of an area that is experiencing bottom-up gentrification is Boyle Heights, Los Angeles. Boyle Heights is adjacent to downtown Los Angeles, which underwent rapid reinvestment and gentrification during the 2000s. Boyle Heights was one of the most racially diverse working-class areas of Los Angeles in the early- to mid-1900s. However, freeway projects and exposure to toxins made the community less desirable; by the late 20th century, the neighborhood was home to predominantly working-class Latinos.

Today, Boyle Heights has become a popular destination for artists and millennials pushed out by increasing rents in downtown Los Angeles, Highland Park to the north, and Echo Park to the northwest. Longtime resident activists, concerned about housing and cultural displacement, have undertaken various actions against newcomers and would-be residents, from defacing art establishments to staging plays and holding anti-gentrification marches (Delgadillo 2018). The activists’ tactics have discouraged realtors from holding home tours in the neighborhood and have led at least one newly opened art gallery to close (Delgadillo 2018). This example illustrates the tensions that can happen in the early stages of bottom-up gentrification.

Top-Down Gentrification

Another type of a gentrifying central city neighborhood is the “top-down” gentrifying community. Top-down gentrification is more coordinated than bottom-up gentrification, often involving fewer actors organized around a central planning project or process. Examples include public housing redevelopment, new or substantially renovated sports venues, and light rail development. Other examples include new anchor institutions such as universities, significant infrastructure investments, and zoning changes that directly or indirectly increase the cost of housing, such as enactment of a historic preservation overlay zone. Gentrification often occurs more quickly in its top-down form, sometimes speeding up an already existing process of bottom-up gentrification.

One area that has experienced top-down gentrification are the communities surrounding the new 606 elevated park in Chicago (Figure 3.3). This 2.7-mile greenway built on an



Figure 3.4. A garage conversion, exterior (left) and interior (right) (Photos by Erika Pinto)

abandoned freight rail line on the city's northwest side was championed by Mayor Rahm Emmanuel in the early 2010s, who advocated for expanding the city's park system (Thiel 2015). The 606 traverses Humboldt Park, Bucktown, Wicker Park, and Logan Square, neighborhoods initially settled by Polish immigrants but later called home by diverse Latino ethnic groups, such as Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Mexicans. Bottom-up gentrification defined most of these communities in the 2000s, as artists moved in. However, home prices accelerated rapidly in the area compared to nearby communities after construction on the 606 began in 2013 (Thiel 2015).

In this case, opposition to gentrification is also happening in a top-down way. Two aldermen proposed an ordinance in the spring of 2017 to raise demolition fees and impose a "deconversion" fee in the area, which would make it more difficult for developers to turn existing older single-family and multifamily properties into new single-family homes.

PLANNING CHALLENGES

The cultural and economic diversity of quickly changing racially and ethnically diverse places can create specific and often difficult challenges for planners.

Planners in these areas must grapple with broadly serving the public interest and meeting the specific needs of diverse racial and ethnic groups. Focusing on the latter may detract from other aspects of community well-being, such as fiscal stability, health, and environmental sustainability

(Qadeer 2016; Pestieau and Wallace 2003). For example, investing in additional social services to aid refugees may help newcomers assimilate, but strain local finances; grandfathering nonconforming housing adaptations may support multigenerational families, but increase fire hazards; and converting natural and open spaces to soccer fields may help meet the recreational needs of immigrant groups, but reduce the amount of local wildlife habitat. The following sections address some of the most common challenges faced by planners working in these areas.

Nonconforming Uses and Code Violations

A fundamental tension in newly diverse places is that newcomers may want to use their land and buildings in ways that do not conform to existing regulations. This tension arises because regulations reflect the cultural values of a community's population at the time the regulations were written (Lung-Amam 2013; Vitiello 2009; Harwood 2005). A community's regulations may come into conflict with the cultural values held by newcomers as its population changes.

One arena where this conflict emerges is in housing adaptations to accommodate multigenerational living, addressed in greater detail in Chapter 5. Latinos, Asians, and African Americans are more likely to live in multigenerational households than are whites. Close to one-quarter of these three groups lived in multigenerational households in 2009, compared to only 13 percent of whites (Taylor 2012).

Disparities in multigenerational living arise due to racial and ethnic differences in cultural traditions and economic

and social constraints. For instance, cultural traditions of filial responsibility encourage Asian adults to take care of their parents. Structural constraints, such as persistent disadvantage in housing and economic markets, lead racially and ethnically diverse millennials to move in with their parents to weather income disruptions and avoid homelessness. Moving in with relatives also helps new immigrants, who tend to be Latino or Asian, to overcome employment and language barriers.

People of color and immigrants may alter the housing stock to accommodate their relatives in ways that do not conform to existing regulations, which could result in public opposition. A common kind of alteration is adding an accessory dwelling unit (ADU), which is a secondary living unit on a single-family home property. A type of informal ADU development common in predominantly Latino neighborhoods of single-family homes is a garage conversion, where a garage structure is converted to residential use (Figure 3.4, p. 44).

Garage conversions are an important source of affordable housing in Latino ethnoburbs. They also help to support the rich social safety net in these communities by providing flexibility for people to house their relatives. However, when improperly constructed, garage conversions may be unsafe for inhabitants, or may result in negative impacts to the surrounding community. For instance, garage conversions may have code violations (e.g., lack of windows) and strain local parking, sewer, and other infrastructure systems. The sidebar on p. 46 by Jake Wegmann examines this issue in greater detail.

A complication for planners in Asian-diverse places comes from “mansionization” (Lung-Amam 2013, 2017). Mansionization is a process whereby older, smaller homes are replaced with new, larger homes, leading to a larger floor-to-area (FAR) ratio, greater height, and narrower setbacks than found for the other parcels on the block (Yu 2007; Lung-Amam 2013). New homes may be multifamily complexes or much larger single-family homes, which have been called “McMansions” or “monster houses” by critics of this practice.

Different factors drive mansionization. In predominantly Asian neighborhoods, mansionization is related to specific cultural factors, such as the desire for more space to house multigenerational families and preferences for large indoor play and leisure spaces (e.g., piano rooms) over large yards (Lung-Amam 2013, 2017). Long-term residents may view this process as threatening their cultural values, which are embedded in the community’s architectural heritage (Lung-Amam 2013). For example, white ethnic groups may value larger setbacks, which allow more space for outdoor recreation. Adjacent neighbors also may feel that the new larger properties encroach on their space and privacy (Lung-Amam 2013, 2017).



Figure 3.5. Asian mall in Chinatown, San Gabriel, California (Flickr photo/Payton Chung (CC BY-2.0))

Two other nonconforming uses that planners working in newly diverse places may face are demand by ethnic newcomers to use their homes for religious or business practices. Ethnic newcomers may want to worship outside of traditional religious buildings, such as churches or synagogues, in private homes or parks (Harwood 2005; Burayidi and Wiles 2015). A well-known example is the Orthodox Jewish community in Los Angeles, which the city barred from worshiping collectively in their homes. The community’s subsequent lawsuit led Congress to institute the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act (RLUIPA) in 2000, which placed constraints on localities’ ability to use local land-use regulations to limit religious practices (Burayidi and Wiles 2015).

Ethnic newcomers also may want to use their homes as temporary or permanent businesses. For instance, households may host regular yard sales involving neighborhoods and friends, which racial and ethnic outsiders may perceive as disorderly and disruptive (Harwood 2005). Other kinds of more permanent commercial uses in the home include small restaurants or hair salons. Home-based businesses are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 5.

Complications also may arise in nonresidential spaces, such as shopping malls. An issue that planners may experience in Asian-diverse places is the transformation of traditional shopping centers or strip malls into ethnic-themed community and economic centers (Figure 3.5). Many planning challenges can arise during this process. For instance, the signage at new ethnic malls may violate existing ordinances, and their ownership structures, tenant mixes, and

GARAGE CONVERSIONS IN SOUTHEAST LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Jake Wegmann, Assistant Professor, University of Texas–Austin

Southeast Los Angeles County has gone through a stunning transformation over the past half century, one almost unheard of in built-up inner suburban communities in the United States. A cluster of 14 cities and unincorporated communities centered on the city of South Gate nearly doubled in population from 407,000 in 1960 to 709,000 in 2010. Over the same period, the area transitioned from majority white at midcentury to 82 percent Latino and just four percent white non-Hispanic in 2010. By this point, its population and population density exceeded that of Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

What accounts for these changes? A big part of the story is the seemingly humble, microscale process of garage conversions, where garages originally designed to park cars are converted into residential spaces often, though not always, equipped with their own kitchens and bathrooms. Garage conversions are one of the cheapest and quickest possible ways for homeowners to add living spaces to their properties that include a degree of privacy and separation from the main house. The sheer scale at which garage conversions have occurred in southeast Los Angeles County, not to mention the fact that almost all of them have been done without proper permits, poses challenging questions to planners working in these communities.

Garage conversions appeal to homeowners in the Los Angeles region, including southeast Los Angeles County, for several reasons. First, the older housing stock that predominates in many areas is often accompanied by detached garages that are too small to park many of today's popular large vehicles, such as

sport utility vehicles, pickup trucks, and even large sedans. In many cases, such spaces have already been used for storing sundry personal belongings, with cars parked on driveways, front yard paved parking aprons, or on the street. In these instances, converting the space from storing belongings to creating housing for people is a short step.

In addition, conversions of garages to apartments are often relatively simple, quick, and cheap. For instance, in the 1990s, a homeowner living adjacent to the area described above, just inside the Los Angeles city limits, created an apartment from her detached garage for her teenage daughter and her daughter's then-boyfriend (and later husband) when she became pregnant. This yielded a relatively spacious and comfortable two-bedroom, one-bathroom apartment of about 400 square feet. Creating a rudimentary garage apartment requires little more than sealing the garage door (with caulk, or else building a false wall behind it), installing appliances, bringing in electrical service, stuffing foam or paper into the exterior walls for insulation, and possibly building internal drywall partitions. The simplest converted garages, which often lack their own bathroom or kitchen, can cost \$2,000 or less.

Finally, garage conversions are easily reversible. In cases where a homeowner is forced by code enforcement action to remove a garage apartment, the process is straightforward. Where the garage door has not been removed, little more is required than tearing out the drywall, removing appliances (often storing them for future use), and capping plumbing. All of the foregoing may cost as little as \$2,000, or less than half the cost of demolishing a typical backyard shed and

hauling the material away. What is more, a garage apartment, after removal, can quickly and easily be reinstated. Many homeowners view the cost of (temporarily) removing garage apartments as merely "the cost of doing business."

Garage apartments are most commonly used to house family members. It is typical for longstanding tenants of single-family houses to convert garages to accommodate their relatives or their own growing households, or to cope with rent increases imposed by their landlords. In many cases, tenants make these modifications without the knowledge of longtime absentee property owners. In other cases, the homeowner lives in a separate back house and either converts or allows the tenant family living in the front house to convert the garage into more living space. When family members move out of converted garages, other paying tenants often move in, typically referred by friends or neighbors.

Garage conversions can be thought of as one strategy among several used by many in southeast Los Angeles County to create, in effect, a multigenerational family compound on a residential lot. The southern California–based planner James Rojas has described this practice as an example of Latino Urbanism. Latino Urbanism refers to a set of vernacular building practices that solve specific local problems in a way that is consistent with prevailing cultural norms, in this case, intergenerational togetherness and the importance of creating and maintaining a long-term family "home place." This stands in sharp contrast to the prevailing view in U.S. society of the family home as an investment, presumably one to be eventually sold to pay for retirement somewhere else.

While garage conversions are widely practiced in southeast Los Angeles, they usually conflict with the letter of the law. There are several reasons for this. First, they often are built in ways that make retrofitting them for code compliance difficult and expensive. For instance, the Los Angeles homeowner described earlier received an order from a code enforcement officer to close down the garage apartment she had originally created for her daughter and later rented to a tenant, following an anonymous complaint from a neighbor. Bringing the apartment to a state of compliance would have required excavating under the garage and installing a concrete foundation underneath it, at an estimated cost of about \$25,000. This would have exceeded the cost of the original conversion by a factor of about two and a half.

In addition, garage apartments often require extensive life safety modifications to meet code requirements, such as egress doors. Enforcement of such codes is regarded by many code enforcement officers as a top priority since garage apartments have an extensive history of fatal fires in Los Angeles County. Consequently, when garage apartments come to their attention, they are often under pressure to ensure that homeowners make all the improvements that the code dictates.

Also, it is impossible for many garage apartments to comply with zoning codes even if they can be brought into compliance with building codes. For instance, as of 2013 in all residential zones in unincorporated Los Angeles County, habitable space had to be at least five feet from the sides of the parcel and 15 feet in front of the rear property line. Very commonly, garages lie within these setbacks. Thus, garage apartments in such cases cannot be brought into compliance with zoning unless they are physically moved, a costly proposition.

Setback regulations are justified by their defenders on the basis of life safety. Off-street parking requirements, on the other hand, have no such justification. In almost all of the 14 communities in southeast Los Angeles County, I examined, a single-family house triggers a requirement for the provision of two covered off-street parking spaces. Thus, if a garage—even one that has not been used to store an automobile for decades—is to be legally converted into an apartment, then the property owner must replace the covered parking that it formerly provided to the main house, as well as adding two additional covered parking spaces. Even in cases where a parcel is large enough to provide enough space for parking three or more additional automobiles, creating covered spaces in the form of carports or new garages adds considerable additional expense.

Thus most garage conversions exist in a sort of uneasy legal limbo. They are too numerous and too essential to the functioning of the local housing market for an across-the-board crackdown to be politically, practically, or even morally tolerable. At the same time, homeowners with converted garages and those living within them must live with the possibility that an anonymous tip from a neighbor could lead to it being dismantled. Meanwhile, proposals to relax regulations on them often either get lost amidst more pressing, visible issues putting stress on small suburban local governments, or are vigorously opposed in the name of upholding the rule of law.

While garage conversions are especially common in southern California in general and southeast Los Angeles County in particular, they exist in other locations as well. And this could prove to be increasingly the case in the future. As incomes continue to stagnate as homeownership rates drop and rents keep in-

creasing, garage conversions could be a housing solution turned to by more and more people in more and more places. Another contributor will likely be the ongoing demographic diversification of an expanding number of suburbs across the United States. Whether garage conversions are viewed as a creative solution to intractable housing affordability problems, a problematic violation of official regulations, or perhaps a little bit of both, odds are that more planners will be seeing them on a street near them soon. New tools and new strategies will be needed to respond. In the meantime, southeast Los Angeles offers a preview of what is likely to unfold in other diverse suburbs in the future.

This sidebar is adapted from an article entitled "Research Notes: The Hidden Cityscapes of Informal Housing in Suburban Los Angeles and the Paradox of Horizontal Density," which originally appeared in the journal Buildings and Landscapes in the fall of 2015 (22(2): 89–110). Excerpts are reprinted here with permission from the publisher, University of Minnesota Press.

designs may not conform to existing codes or regulations. The sidebar on p. 49 by Willow Lung-Amam explores these challenges in greater detail.

Conflict Over Use of Public Space

Planners also face the challenge of dealing with disputes over uses of public space in newly diverse places. These conflicts arise because racial and ethnic groups have different cultural approaches to public space. For instance, Latinos have a more “open air culture,” according to Latino Urbanism expert James Rojas, meaning they often hold social gatherings outside of their homes in parks, parking lots, sidewalks, and other public spaces—activities that European Americans and other racial and ethnic groups may undertake within the private space of their homes (Burayidi and Wiles 2015). These latter groups may perceive Latinos’ boisterous gatherings as intrusions.

Another conflict over space common to Latino neighborhoods is day laborer zones. Undocumented Latino men need space to congregate to attract potential employers. Having such a space in parking lots or on street corners helps them to support their families and over time assimilate into the formal economy. However, existing residents may feel that their quality of life and safety are threatened by groups of men looking for work (Guerette 2007). The implications of day labor zones are addressed in greater depth in Chapter 5.

Negotiating diverse uses of public areas and mediating their effects on others’ uses are challenging issues. Planners have to balance the right of ethnic newcomers to congregate and practice free speech with minimizing potential threats to existing residents’ quality of life and well-being in grappling with conflicts over space in diverse places.

Social Service and Amenity Mismatches

Newly diverse places may experience acute mismatches between the needs of newcomers of different socioeconomic status and available services and amenities. The social service and nonprofit sector is particularly underdeveloped in post-civil rights suburbs, given their ongoing maturation and increasing socioeconomic diversity. For instance, at the start of the recent Great Recession, Lancaster, California, a post-civil rights suburb, had about 3,000 poor people for every social-service nonprofit (Allard and Roth 2010). Lack of adequate transportation is particularly debilitating to poor and elderly residents, who are more likely to be transit dependent.

Mismatches also may exist for amenities, such as grocery stores. Gentrifying central city neighborhoods may attract new supermarkets, but increasing commercial rents may lead

longstanding bodegas offering culturally specific goods to close. Long-time low- and moderate-income residents also may struggle to afford food at the new supermarkets (Azuma et al. 2010). Although fast food might be in abundance in low-income neighborhoods, healthy foods might not be as readily available (Block, Scribner, and DeSalvo 2004). In turn, sizeable ethnic grocery stores may want to locate in diverse suburbs to meet the demand for ethnic food options, but whites and other social groups may contest the cultural footprint that these stores leave on the suburban landscape. Opposition groups may claim that new ethnic amenities will attract crime and lead to property value decline—emotional arguments that can sway local political support to their side, even if these concerns are unfounded (Harwood 2005).

Housing Affordability

Housing affordability is a pressing issue in newly diverse places. Homeowners in post-civil rights suburbs may struggle to stay in their homes and build equity in the context of their risky mortgages and slack local housing demand. Renters living in new rental conversions in post-civil rights suburbs may lack protections from rising rent or supportive institutions to mediate housing issues. Renters of color may struggle to weather rent increases in gentrifying communities in central cities, while “land-rich but cash-poor” homeowners of color in these communities may struggle to maintain their properties amidst rising property taxes (Murdie and Teixeira 2011).

Housing affordability challenges are especially acute in the face of large-scale housing redevelopment in top-down gentrifying communities, especially when redevelopment plans do not include sufficient affordable housing to accommodate existing residents. This was the case with public housing demolition and redevelopment in Chicago’s Cabrini Green (Figure 3.6, p. 50), where only a small fraction of the original public housing tenants could afford to live in the redeveloped community (Bezalel 2016).

Planners face the challenge of preserving existing low-cost housing and providing new low-cost housing in these changing communities. Increasing housing demand, followed by rising rents and for-sale housing prices in gentrifying central city communities, create a window of opportunity for planning for a community’s long-term housing affordability and diversity. Courses of action are plentiful but may be limited by existing state or local regulations (e.g., state bans on mandatory inclusionary housing ordinances or local zoning codes that limit density) and state and local political climates (Ramsey-Musolf 2017). Chapter 5 delves further into these strategies.

ASIAN MALLS

Willow Lung-Amam, Assistant Professor of Planning, University of Maryland–College Park

Ethnic shopping centers come in many varieties. In the United States, they are generally suburban shopping malls with a concentration of businesses geared toward the needs of recent immigrants. Over the last few decades, as Asian Americans have become the most suburban of all racial minority groups, their growing presence in communities across the country has been met by an increasing number of Asian shopping malls.

These malls typically host independent businesses that sell a range of products from Asia. They often also include Asian grocers, restaurants, and shops that provide a variety of personal and professional services, such as healthcare, travel, real estate, and banking. In many North American cities, Asian malls have introduced a retail condominium model in which shopkeepers own rather than rent their spaces. Many contain smaller retail shops than traditional suburban shopping centers and adopt more flexible hours and management practices.

Contrary to many suburban mall stereotypes, Asian malls are vibrant hubs of public life. For many recent immigrants, they offer a home away from home that provides a bridge to places, people, and products from overseas; fulfills their daily necessities; and anchors them in their new communities. These shopping centers are critical places of identity and belonging for many Asian American suburbanites.

However, in many communities, the development of Asian malls has raised tough political and planning issues. Residents sometimes complain about projects that do not look or act like traditional suburban shopping centers, including the display of non-English-language signage or the perception of Asian malls as

racially or ethnically exclusionary spaces. Planners and city officials have raised issues about their quality of maintenance, unit size, and tenant mix, particularly in condominium-owned malls that lack centralized management. Because of their fractionalized ownership, cities sometimes also perceive these malls as a barrier to redevelopment.

To address these and other concerns, municipalities around the country have newly adopted or amended their review processes and regulations, including those regarding commercial signage, design guidelines, development standards, and retail condominiums (see Lung-Amam 2017).

If communities are to realize the benefits of ethnic retail, which include servicing the needs and desires of new residents and creating more diverse and vibrant suburban commercial landscapes, planners must carefully consider how such policies address concerns related to equity and difference. Rules governing the design and development of ethnic retail must be applied to all retail and focused on issues of community health, safety, and welfare. Planners should question whether existing or proposed regulations contain underlying social and cultural norms or biases, or may have a disparate impact. Could parking minimums for shopping centers with a large number of restaurants inhibit the growth of ethnic retail? Are certain forms of retail deemed more desirable, normal, or standard than others? Are the economic development priorities of the city in line with those of the broader community? Equitable policies require the clear, consistent, and standard application of processes and regulations. The principle of difference, however,

recognizes that people hold different spatial norms, preferences, and values. To respect differences in ethnic retail development, planners might give attention to multilingual sign preferences, the flexibility of retail standards to allow for diverse designs and functions, and creative strategies to capitalize on the existing social functions of ethnic shopping centers, such as the integration of social services and public space.

Planners can also help Asian malls and other ethnic shopping centers grow and thrive by fostering open community conversations. They can bring attention to how planning processes privilege participation among some groups and make efforts to help new groups build trust and familiarity with planning processes. They can use community meetings to address residents' fears and concerns, while also engaging them in conversations about the value of social and spatial diversity and how to foster more equitable and inclusive communities.



Figure 3.6. Residents protest public housing redevelopment in Chicago's Cabrini Green community (Deirdre Pfeiffer)

Social Tensions and Discrimination

Social tensions abound in newly diverse places, from housing discrimination to police racial profiling and violence, addressed in Chapter 2. Housing discrimination may arise in post–civil rights suburbs if homeowners view the conversion of owner- to renter-occupied properties in their neighborhoods as threatening to their quality of life (Delgadillo 2018).

These tensions may become especially tricky to handle if tenure divides fall along racial, ethnic, or economic lines. For instance, rental conversions open up neighborhoods in post–civil rights suburbs to Housing Choice Voucher holders. Lancaster and Palmdale—two post–civil rights suburbs in southern California—settled a housing discrimination suit in the summer of 2015 alleging that local officials systematically discouraged African Americans holding vouchers from moving into and staying in traditionally white-owned communities. One practice was for the police to show up unannounced and conduct forcible searches of voucher holders' homes (Associated Press 2015).

Stark social divides also may exist between newcomers and old-timers in rapidly gentrifying central-city communities. The real or imagined threat of housing, political, commercial, and cultural displacement is an underlying source of tension in gentrifying communities (Schlichtman, Patch, and Hill 2017). Social tensions erupt even in communities intentionally created to house diverse groups, such as in mixed-income housing developments that are replacing public housing communities in Chicago and elsewhere (Bezalel 2016).

More affluent newcomers may move to these developments in part because they value racial and ethnic diversity. However, newcomers may over time attribute social problems in the development and surrounding community to perceived cultural or other traits of racial or ethnic others, which can increase social tensions over time (Bezalel 2016).

A pernicious form of social tension in newly diverse places is police racial profiling and violence against people of color, addressed in Chapter 2. African Americans' historical spatial and social isolation has made them particularly vulnerable to victimization by the police. African American men are especially affected by this issue. Police racial profiling and violence diminishes victims' peace of mind at best and leads to wrongful arrests, imprisonment, or death at worst. A lack of racial and ethnic diversity in local police departments, especially in leadership positions, makes these issues more likely in newly diverse places.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown how the dramatic demographic changes taking place across the United States become manifest in distinct types of racially and ethnically diverse communities. Two commonly encountered kinds of diverse places—diverse suburbs and gentrifying central city neighborhoods—illustrate some of the common challenges that planners working in these communities might face. These include nonconforming uses and code violations, conflicts over the use of public space, social service and amenity mismatches, and housing affordability.

It is likely that these and similar challenges will appear if not intensify in all types of diversifying communities across the country as our nation approaches majority-minority status. In some cases, these challenges are rooted in the historical and persistent inequities faced by people of color, as discussed in Chapter 2. In others, challenge comes from change and unfamiliarity with new cultures and ways of being in the built environment and public space.

Increased diversity and multiculturalism can be met by fear and distrust of "others," reducing social solidarity and social capital (Putnam 2001). But this doesn't have to be the case. Communities can work to bridge cultural and ethnic differences, expand their identities, and capitalize on the vibrancy, economic opportunities, and social growth that can accompany diversity (King, Hracs, and Dendstedt 2010; Narayanan 2018).

Planners can play important roles in both addressing enduring inequities and convening cross-cultural conversa-

tions. Thus, it is important for planners to understand the historic contexts of their communities, consider how their racial and ethnic makeups are changing, identify what challenges might be arising from these changes, and proactively respond to these challenges. This can only be done by engaging with communities of color and involving them in planning processes, along with implementing policies and programs that address social and economic inequities and mediate potential conflicts in the built environment. The following chapters will address frameworks and strategies that planners can use to engage diverse groups and sustain diverse communities.

CHAPTER 4

ENGAGING DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

States, regions, cities, and neighborhoods are amalgamations of diverse interests, desires, and needs existing in a constant state of motion. Polity and economy are shaped by—and, in turn, shape—the activities of community members in a constant and unceasing battle for multicultural representation and inclusion (Burayidi 2000).

Plans will never be successful without inclusive community engagement, as the saying “Nothing about us, without us, is for us,” goes. By the late 1960s, planners such as Sherry Arnstein began formalizing community engagement models that sought not to control communities but to facilitate them in their struggles for improvement. Arnstein (1969) presented what she called the “ladder of citizen participation” (Figure 4.1), wherein each rung represented a step in the direction away from merely manipulative engagement processes toward a purer sense of citizen control and democracy.

Arnstein’s ladder has come to be seen as indispensable for planners trying to conceptualize the processes and means they might use to engage communities across the country. Ideas for community change need to come from the interests, desires, and needs of people within those communities, with planners playing a listening and facilitating rather than prescriptive role. What this means is that planners have the task of not only planning for people of color but also with them.

When minorities and immigrants can make their voices heard regarding changes to their communities, the resulting outcomes can be much better than would otherwise occur. The sidebar on p. 54 describes one such case.

WHAT ENGAGEMENT IS AND WHY WE DO IT

The American Planning Association defines community engagement as a process of “public participation and involvement that promotes relationship building through learning, action, and the expression of needs and values” and “working collaboratively with individuals and groups to achieve specific goals” (APA 2007).

The community engagement model attempts to understand cities and neighborhoods as living, breathing organ-

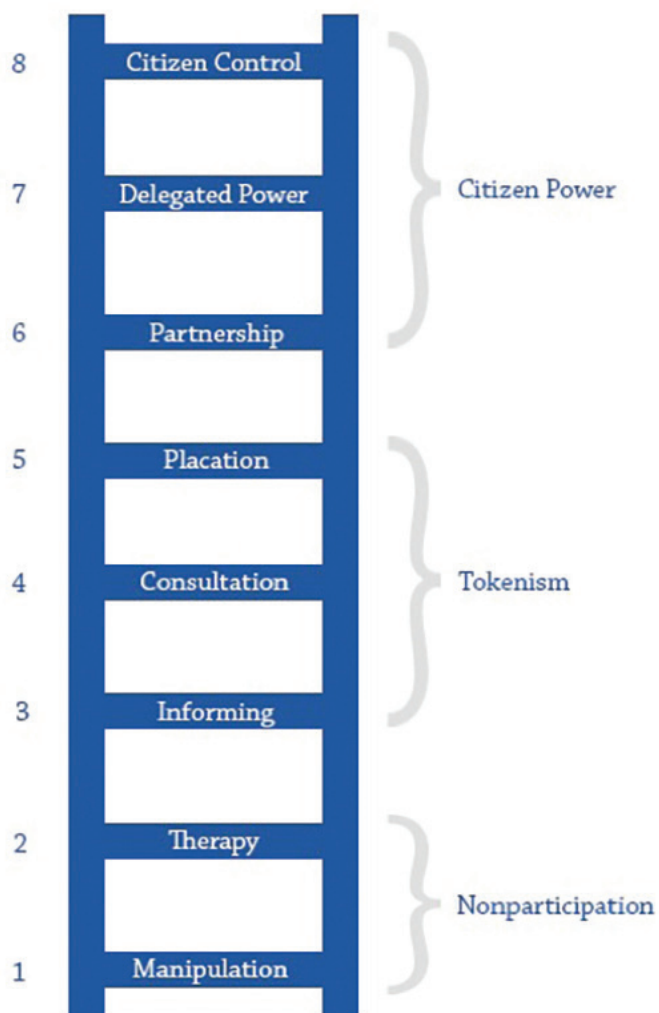


Figure 4.1. Ladder of citizen participation (Ivis Garcia from Arnstein 1969)

FRUITVALE: A COMMUNITY DEMANDS TO BE HEARD

Fruitvale, a neighborhood in Oakland, California, is a vibrant ethnically and racially diverse neighborhood. Asians, Caucasians, and African Americans account for about 50 percent of the population; the other 50 percent is Latino. But it was not a vibrant community a few decades ago. With the construction of freeways in the 1950s, Fruitvale became a segregated community on a downward economic spiral. Population shrank as these freeways provided an opportunity for middle-class families to move out to the suburbs. Similarly, manufacturers, factories, and canneries followed these mobile, and now suburban, workers to greener pastures. This resulted in the downward trend of Fruitvale's economic vitality. Joblessness and substandard housing, among other problems associated with economic decline, prevailed for decades.

In 1991 the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) proposed a multilevel parking structure adjacent to Fruitvale's BART station (FHWA 2007). But community residents, largely led by Unity Council—a local and mainly Latino nonprofit organization started by activists in 1964—rejected the proposal. They argued that the parking structure would result in a physical barrier between the community and the BART station. BART held a public meeting to listen to the local community, which again rejected the idea on the basis of further separation between BART and the community; potential increases in crime rates, traffic congestion, and air pollution; and the lack of genuine community participation.

When the community rejected the BART proposal, BART staff asked Unity Council to help them formulate an alternative plan that was more acceptable to the community. Unity Council had

already built a reputation for leading this cause in the community and had the support of local organizations, as well as a large number of residents. It channeled this support into applying for community development block grant (CDBG) funds.

In 1992, Unity Council was awarded \$185,000 to initiate a community planning process to bring different stakeholders to a common ground (Gray-O'Connor 2015). The following year, it was given a Federal Transit Administration (FTA) planning grant of \$470,000 to further expand its activities. With these funds, it carried out economic, traffic, and engineering studies in the immediate station area, and it conducted a series of community workshops in multiple languages to get input from various stakeholders.

A consensus started to develop around the creation of a "transit village." After extensively discussing the pros and cons of various alternatives, stakeholders attended a final workshop to reach a consensus on one of two shortlisted site plans. After the site plan selection, collaboration continued to finalize the most appropriate design.

The nine-acre site where BART once proposed a multilevel parking structure is today a transit village, with mixed use development including residential, commercial, and civic uses. The highlight of the project is a tree-lined plaza that acts as a cultural hub in the region and hosts a number of community events such as festivals and concerts. Some of the commercial uses are aimed at servicing the community. Purposefully located in the village are a number of nonprofit organizations to address educational, healthcare, and economic needs. These include a library, a senior center, a day care center, a high school, and a health care facility. There is also af-

fordable housing for seniors and families, as well as a business incubator offering small business loans and space to either start or improve local businesses.

The Fruitvale Transit Village has been recognized nationally by various organizations due to its participatory and sustainable approach utilizing principles of community building and environmental justice in planning and implementation. The *San Francisco Business Times* named it the project with the "Best Community Impact" in 2002, and the U.S. Department of Transportation featured it as one of three best case studies in environmental justice (FHWA 2011). Moreover, the project has earned awards from the American Planning Association, the National Association of Homebuilders, the Sierra Club, and the Natural Resources Defense Council, among others.

The Fruitvale Transit Village is an example of transit-oriented development that demonstrates how communities can play a part in creating socially, environmentally, and economically sustainable development. Through this collaboration BART and the city of Oakland did not engage in their "business as usual" planmaking process, but instead decided to support a local organization capable of incorporating the voices of residents and building the capacity of the community at large (PSRC 2015). This case shows how productive it can be to truly engage with a community by addressing areas of conflict and using diverse ideas to produce better plans and to mobilize and leverage resources. After all, working together is the right thing to do.

isms in a constant and unending process of change. Ideas that were once held as absolute and commonsensical can become outdated, antiquated, or backward over time. Planners have a responsibility to listen to and try to understand community members to allow for and accommodate change and engage in policymaking that represents local interests and needs.

Community engagement is an ongoing process, which entails facilitating the participation of community members—especially diverse or underrepresented groups—in neighborhood and local planning and design. This process results in residents feeling more informed, engaged, and connected to their communities.

Participatory planning is also good planning. Designing, developing, or building a city, neighborhood, or block is highly complex, but allowing for diverse stakeholders with sometimes divergent beliefs to come forward to create the spaces in which they live helps to address this complexity.

Other reasons for community engagement include the possibilities for more innovative and informed solutions to problems; more efficient decision making and implementation; the opportunity to build community ownership, skills, capacities, and trust; and the ability to better mobilize and leverage resources (Creighton 2005). However, community engagement is more of an art than a science, which can make it difficult to navigate for practitioners. This chapter outlines some steps and strategies for effective engagement in racially and ethnically diverse communities and illustrates their application through case studies.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT APPROACHES

Community engagement is nonformulaic. There are some common milestones, however, that are at the foundation of most effective forms of community engagement. These milestones include getting to know the community, connecting with community partners, and picking the appropriate strategy.

The International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) is an association that seeks “to promote and improve the practice of public participation and engagement in relation to individuals, governments, institutions, and other entities that affect the public interest in nations throughout the world” (IAP2 2018, 2). The IAP2’s Public Participation Spectrum (Figure 4.3, p. 58) provides a framework for engaging community members and building their capacity over time. This framework fits into the foundational milestones listed above and can help planners apply diverse tools in participatory processes for people of color.

Getting to Know the Community

One of the first steps to take when engaging with an unfamiliar community is to try to understand the community of interest and the space that the community of interest occupies. A planner must determine how people define their own community and learn as much as possible about the community, using information from publicly available sources such as the U.S. Census but also local newspapers, service directories, blog posts, or online platforms such as Facebook or Nextdoor. Planners should become familiar with the topics, events, messages, or polls raised by the community they are interested in learning more about.

Different ethnic and racial groups might have varying definitions of community that manifest in distinctive cultures, languages, and kinship networks. These definitions may not necessarily correspond to a particular geography or align with the geography that a planner presumes to comprise the community. Communities may be composed of disparate, dispersed groups with seemingly invisible boundaries. For example, the Social Science Research Committee at the University of Chicago identified 77 different community areas in the late 1920s that are still widely used by government offices, researchers, and nonprofit entities in defining the city of Chicago. However, many residents use different geographic boundaries in defining their communities (Figure 4.2, p. 56). Residents and organizations in Chicago’s Puerto Rican community insist that they are located in Humboldt Park, when according to the official community areas they are located in West Town (Cintrón et al. 2012). Community members associate West Town with white “yuppies,” however, and they more closely identify with living adjacent to Humboldt Park, a well-known city park (García 2018). In this particular case there is enough of a concentration of Puerto Rican residents, businesses, and organizations in the area that one can relate this neighborhood to a specific group of people (García 2015, 2017b).

Other groups, especially when their numbers are very small, may not conform to neighborhood geographies at all. Instead, these groups may locate their community in specific places, like markets, restaurants, or houses. Planners have the task of understanding the spaces a community of interest occupies and how they define those spaces.

An Asset-Based Community Development Approach

As professional problem solvers, planners are accustomed to thinking more about the needs of a community than its assets. Thus, they tend to see the glass as halfway empty as opposed to halfway full. As such, it can be easy to fall into the

THREE UNDERSTANDINGS OF “HUMBOLDT PARK,” THE CENTER OF PUERTO RICAN CHICAGO

Humboldt Park is perceived as the symbolic center of Puerto Rican Chicago and, therefore, many studies have focused on the Humboldt Park community / neighborhood to address policy issues that deal with Puerto Ricans. However, “Humboldt Park” can be used to refer to a number of overlapping, but distinct geographies. It is defined primarily in three ways—it is important to distinguish between all the definitions, as both are used in this and other studies.

COLLOQUIAL HUMBOLDT PARK



The Humboldt Park community also has a colloquial definition, defined by the people who have lived there in accordance to their shared identity (e.g., a sense of belonging or shared values). The neighborhood's colloquial boundaries are: Western Avenue to the east, Pulaski Road to the west, Armitage Avenue to the north, and Chicago Avenue to the south. This study area is 26% Puerto Rican. Most non-profit organizations are concentrated within colloquial Humboldt Park, where there is more commercial and institutional zoning as opposed to residential zoning.

HUMBOLDT PARK NEIGHBORHOOD

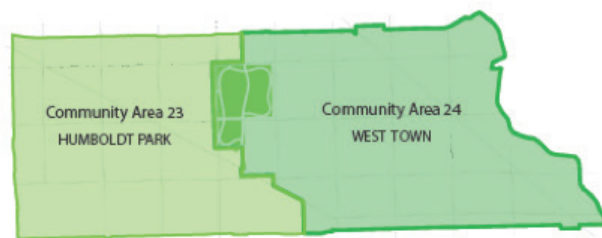


Within the 77 Chicago communities, there are 288 smaller neighborhoods. In 2010, there were about 13,000 Puerto Ricans residing in this geography, accounting for about 13% of all Puerto

Ricans in the city of Chicago. About 21% of the population in this area is Puerto Rican. This is not a very commonly used definition.

COMMUNITY AREA 23

The official definition of the Humboldt Park Community Area comes from the Social Science Research Committee at the University of Chicago which dubs Humboldt Park “Community Area 23,” out of 77 Chicago communities. Since this definition has been in use since the 1920s, it predominates many conceptions of Humboldt Park even today, regardless of the fact that neighborhood dynamics have substantially changed Humboldt Park's organic boundaries in the intervening 80 years. In 2010, there were about 9,000 Puerto Ricans in Community Area 23—making up 20% of the entire population in this community and accounting for 8.7% of the Puerto Rican population in Chicago as a whole. This definition does not include the Park nor many of the organizations and institutions that the Puerto Rican community perceives as being part of Humboldt Park. In terms of boundaries, many Puerto Rican institutions are actually located in West Town, which is Community Area 24. Politically, however, these organizations like to be identified as part of the Humboldt Park community.



Sections where “Colloquial Humboldt Park” is used: Housing, and Non-Profit Capacity.

Section where “Community Area 23” is used: Health.

Sections where “Humboldt Park Neighborhood” is used: Gentrification Analysis and Neighborhood Change.

Figure 4.2. Three understandings of Humboldt Park (Ivis García)

trap of approaching community issues by focusing on community deficits (e.g., high poverty levels, economic inaccessibility, or a general lack of social cohesion).

This problem is compounded by the fact that planners often rely on quantitative data to paint a picture of a particular area. For example, planners may use U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data to compare communities of color with white communities and find that unemployment is twice as high in community X than community Y. It can be relatively easy for planners to build quantitative analyses while sitting at their desks, creating profiles of communities that highlight deficits, instead of performing more complex forms of assessments involving mixed methods, diverse sources of data, and on-site engagement.

An effective and well-documented way to avoid labeling communities of color as deficient is to employ an “asset-based approach” to community development (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). Under this philosophy, planners—and community members—are trained to see the glass half full as opposed to half empty (Table 4.1, p. 55). The focus is on what is already working in a community so that planners and community members can then work to help strengthen it.

This way of thinking was developed by the Asset Based Community Development Institute (ABCD) at Northwestern University (now at DePaul University) in Chicago and was popularized by the seminal volume, *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing*

TABLE 4.1. NEEDS-BASED VERSUS ASSET-BASED PARADIGM SHIFT

	Needs Approach	Assets Approach
What the planner generally thinks	This community is poor and it needs to be fixed	This community has assets that can be leveraged
The data shows	What is wrong with a community	What is great already and what can be improved
Data to be collected by planners	Just quantitative data, sitting at a desk	Numbers, but also listening to stories
Change is achieved	By providing more resources and services	By engaging the community in its own self determination
Leadership model	Professional planning staff	Facilitated by planners but led by residents
The most valuable resource	Financial resources	People and relationships
Success of participation	The number of people that show up to meetings	Increased capacity and empowerment
In the long term	Dwindles	Snowballs

Source: Ivis García

a Community's Assets (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). In this book and other materials, ABCD practitioners use case studies—many of them from Chicago's South Side, where African Americans historically have been segregated—to show that when a community is engaged in identifying its assets, the focus tends to remain on the inherent strengths of the people in the community and what they bring to the table. With this method, community members feel empowered and they are more likely to think that their involvement can and will be truly meaningful. To learn more about an Asset Based Community Development approach, visit <https://resources.depaul.edu/abcd-institute/Pages/default.aspx>.

Connecting with Community Partners

After achieving a basic understanding of the community and learning to respect it through an asset-based approach, planners should seek to engage potential allies within the community. This process starts by gathering information on local organizations that serve diverse populations, such as churches, schools, and businesses.

A planner can research these organizations online or talk to others about who they know. Once an initial list of five to 10 stakeholders is created, the planner can ask the initial people on the list if they know someone else who should be on the list. This is called the “snowball” method. The list will get longer with each iteration, resulting in an increased network of possible contacts. The idea is that while creating the list, planners will seek out ways to build trust and create relationships with community partners. The planner might do this

over a cup of coffee or by conducting a formal interview that will later become part of a community engagement process for a particular project or initiative.

It is important that the list includes a variety of stakeholders—people who live in, work in, and represent the community and the various subgroups that are found within the community (e.g., gender, religion, etc.). Diversity of ages among leaders also is an important consideration. Usually, when people think about leaders they think of older people with some kind of seniority; thus, planners should ask if there are young people who are considered agents of change by their peers. Considerations of intersectionality—the diversity that exists within a particular ethnic or racial group (e.g., being a Latino elderly woman or an Asian American member of the LGBTQ community)—are also important when developing a list of stakeholders.

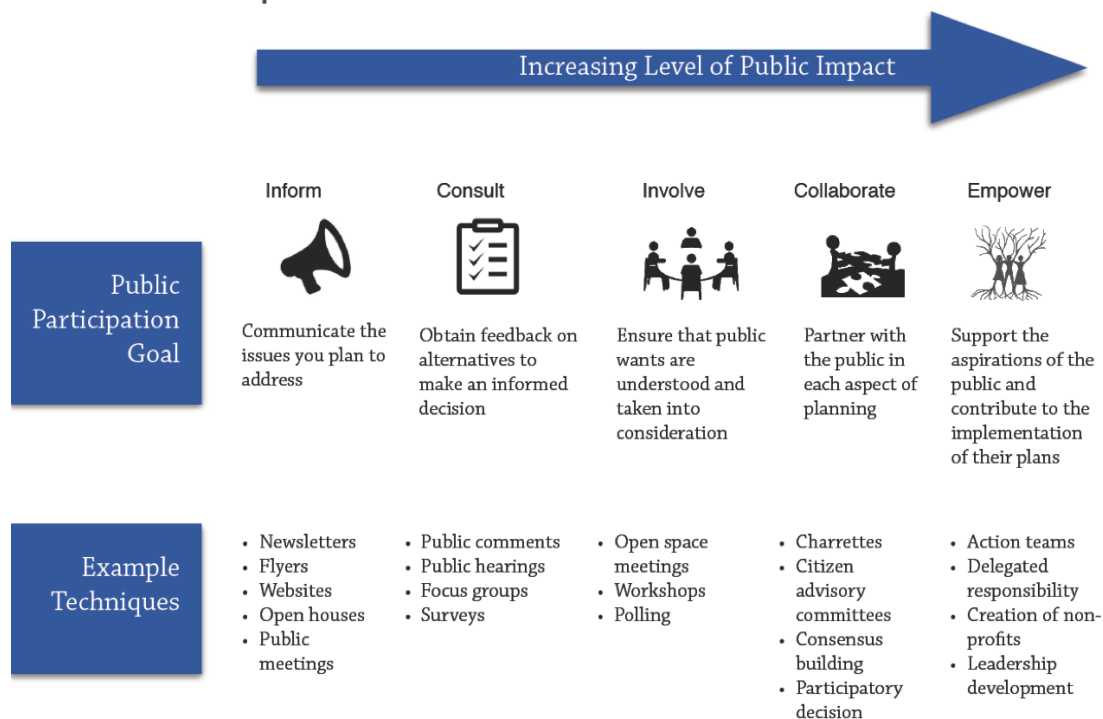
Picking the Appropriate Strategy

Deciding on the most appropriate strategy to engage the community begins after determining the stakeholders that should be involved. The IAP2 Public Participation Spectrum helps planners pair their own community engagement needs with a level of public participation, as shown in Figure 4.3 (p. 58).

The first row in the figure shows a goal statement for public participation, so everyone shares a common understanding of the extent to which the community will be engaged according to what is needed in the planning process. The second row is an example of a particular technique that will aid that goal. The spectrum is composed of five catego-

Figure 4.3. Spectrum of public participation (Ivis García, adapted from IAP2)

Spectrum of Public Participation



ries: inform, consult, involve, collaborate, and empower. Ideally, a planner would start by “informing” and then move towards achieving “empowerment” for an increasing level of public impact.

Inform

The first step in a typical community engagement strategy is to inform the community that important things are happening and that they are invited and encouraged to participate in the engagement process.

Importantly, this step does not yet provide the public with a specific opportunity to participate; it is conceived of and orchestrated by the leadership guiding any given participation process as a means of building awareness before any actual participation takes place. It is also important to understand that this stage, being absent from public influence, is not conducted or organized in a way that could be seen as manipulative or persuasive of any final agenda by community members.

A number of media outlets can serve as podiums for policy makers and planners to get the word out. Social media

such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram are popular and accessible methods for continually updating a community on an ongoing planning process. An important consideration in engaging racially and ethnically diverse communities is identifying which platforms different community members prefer (see Table 4.2, p. 59). A good resource for this is the Pew Research Center, which publishes current reports about Internet usage and technology related to different demographic groups (www.pewinternet.org).

Social media platforms have many benefits. They are free, deliver information quickly, and have the capacity to reach broad audiences. However, a key limitation is that there are barriers to becoming part of the conversations happening on social media. People need to procure devices, set up accounts, and subscribe to receive messages about a meeting or project. People who do not have appropriate devices, accounts, or feed subscriptions are left out of the conversation. See the sidebar on p. 60 for a discussion of this “digital divide.”

More traditional and ethnic media have the potential to reach far larger audiences, particularly for community

TABLE 4.2. INTERNET USAGE AND SOCIAL MEDIA DEMOGRAPHICS (IN PERCENTAGES)

	White, Non-Hispanic	Black, Non-Hispanic	Hispanic
Internet	85	81	83
Facebook	70	67	75
Pinterest	32	23	32
Instagram	21	47	38
LinkedIn	26	22	22
Twitter	20	28	28

Source: Pew Research Center 2018

members that do not use social media. Working with local mainstream and ethnic news stations and providing information on air—especially during the nightly news, which has a consistently wide local audience—is a good strategy. Planners can use mainstream and ethnic media to update community members about meetings and project milestones and promote ongoing conversations happening on social media.

Planners should also be sure to reach out to different ethnic groups in their own languages to reach those who do not speak English. The sidebar on p. 62 by Erica Gutierrez and Jesus Herrera describes the extensive outreach to Spanish speakers conducted by Los Angeles County’s Department of Regional Planning.

Consult

The next step in the community engagement process is to hold meetings after the target community becomes more receptive to and aware of development efforts that may affect them. Here, the planner’s role shifts from being purely informative to more consultative. The steps of informing and consulting require their own focal points and methodologies. While the informing stage is a precursor to public participation, however, the consultation phase is an entry point for public participation in the processes moving forward.

Surveying the public through mobile phone or website apps, in person, or through the mail is an effective way to consult with residents on issues that affect them. If the issue is one that affects a wide variety of community members (e.g., a general plan update), surveying members at a central location, such as an open house about the issue, is appropriate, but planners should keep in mind that attendees at the

open house may be more informed than typical community members. However, if the issue is one that affects specific community members within a locality (e.g., a conditional use change), especially historically disadvantaged or underserved groups, surveying members at places more central to that community, such as their homes or neighborhood community centers, may be more appropriate. Surveying in this context could also provide an opportunity to inform community members about an issue, as it may be the first time that they are hearing about it.

It is especially important to partner with community leaders when surveying communities with immigrants and to provide multilingual translations if multiple languages are spoken in that community. For instance, planners could start by making a list of organizations that cater to specific groups, like the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce (<https://ushcc.com>) or the the League of Native American Voters Alliance (www.nativevotersalliance.org). Faith-based organizations may be open to collaborating with the public sector to better serve the needs of individuals and families who are part of their communities (Sanders 2014). Service and advocacy organizations such as community development corporations, especially those that have been in a neighborhood for an extended period of time, are another good place to start (Yerena 2015). Planners can then ask if representatives of these organizations can help to administer the survey or send it out to their contacts. It should be stressed that the success of this method relies on first dedicating time to building relationships with leaders of these organizations.

Consultations by planners can be a double-edged sword because consultation can easily be perceived by community members as an attempt by the local government to subjugate or placate a community. Therefore, it is important for planners to be aware of the community’s receptivity to a project. Consultations will be more effective by focusing on how to best incorporate the community’s needs into the proposed plans if the community expresses apprehension or ambivalence about a project. Conversely, it may be that more diverse groups need to be included in the consultation if consensus comes easily at this stage.

Involve

Community members have a tremendous capacity to not only amplify planners’ efforts but to also suggest new projects and programs previously not considered by planners. Involving community members in the decision-making process moves the planning process from simply informing and consulting with community members to including them in the process.

THE U.S. DIGITAL DIVIDE

With ever-changing technology and its growing usage in the classroom and workplace, individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds can become extremely disadvantaged. Limited access to technology and limited understanding of technology can prevent individuals from completing assignments, applying to higher-level education, or getting jobs. This “digital divide” is an important and pressing issue globally, nationally, and locally.

It is important that individuals from all backgrounds are provided the opportunity to learn how to use technology to their advantage. Access to the internet and computer technology is no longer a luxury but a necessary tool that affects quality of life.

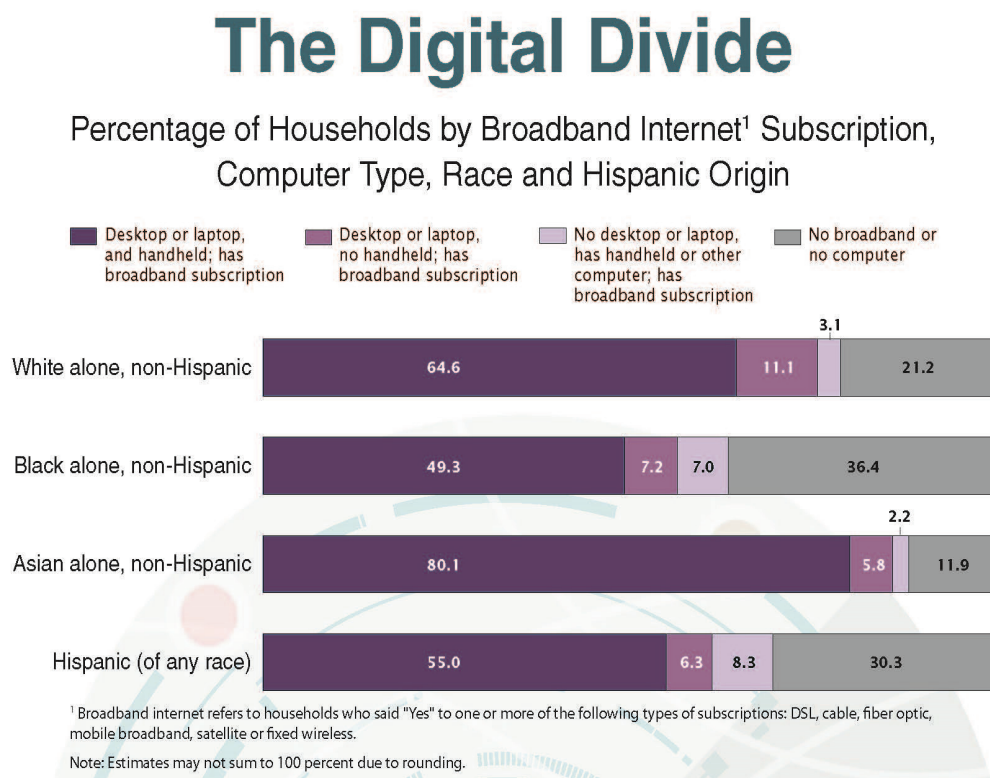
Data from the 2015 American Community Survey (U.S. Census Bureau 2017c) indicates a digital divide among whites, African Americans, Asians, and Latinos in the United States (Figure 4.4). Asians had the highest rates of digital access, with 88 percent having access to both a computer and broadband internet subscription. Whites were next, with 79 percent having access to both a computer and broadband. African Americans and Latinos had significantly lower access rates, at 64 and 70 percent, respectively.

The 2017 American Community Survey provides more recent data about household computer and internet usage. In the United States, 97 percent of Asian households reported having a computer (desktop, laptop, tablet, or smartphone)

compared to 94 percent of whites, 93 of Latinos, 91 percent of African Americans and Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders, and 87 percent of American Indians and Alaska Natives (U.S. Census Bureau 2017d). The levels of access to a broadband internet subscription were slightly lower, comprising 93 percent of Asians, 88 percent of whites, 82 percent of Latinos and Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, 80 percent of African Americans, and 72 percent of American Indian and Alaska Native households.

To bridge this digital divide, Latinos as well as African Americans in the United States need improved access to public and personal computers and broadband internet service. Training programs that enhance the computer skills

Figure 4.4. The digital divide among whites, African Americans, Asians, and Latinos (U.S. Census Bureau 2017c)



of diverse populations should go hand in hand with any increase in computer access. Civic education programs aimed at informing people of color of the benefits of computer literacy and the internet will also help bridge this divide.

Fortunately, federal agencies and a number of states have instituted a variety of programs aimed at achieving these objectives. For example, in Illinois, the Eliminate the Digital Divide Grant Program provides access to digital technologies as well as the necessary training. Additional programs include the federal Broadband Technology Opportunities Program, which awards Sustainable Broadband Adoption grants. In Illinois, the state government has teamed up with the federal government to set up numerous public computer centers that target people without personal computers.

However, instituting these programs is just the beginning. State and local governments, including planning offices, need to ensure that these programs are adequately popularized. One way to do this is to teach planning through computer literacy programs. For example, planners can teach community leaders about community mapping or gathering demographic data. Planners can also help people learn to navigate government websites and show them where to find planning commission meeting documents, locate applications for construction permits, and access services available at the mayor's office or the economic development office. Such a campaign will educate the public about the benefits of digital technologies as well as planning and community services. Taking the time to conduct an effective civic education campaign year after year can help to overcome the digital divide, resident by resident.

It is important for planners to recreate the ethnic and racial complexity of a neighborhood, city, or region in the participatory process (Zapata 2009). In this way planners can provide opportunities for the full community to engage directly with officials and decision makers (Simpson 2015). This level invites the direct involvement of people of color by planners by soliciting ideas from the community so they can help planning teams and decision makers identify potential solutions.

In this level the community participates earlier than in the process of consulting. For example, planners would conduct a focus group before developing a survey that would later be piloted and then fully implemented. A charrette asking how residents would like to develop economically would be held before they comment on the development of a specific plan proposed by the planning department. In this way, the community is part of developing the tools of future engagement. One such example of involving the community in gathering information and determining solutions is the *Diálogo on the Border* held in Brownsville, Texas, described by Edna Ledesma and Cecilia Giusti in the sidebar on p. 64.

Involvement of residents, leaders, and community organizations can help to build relationships over time that are needed to effectively conduct broader community engagement efforts. Ultimately, the planning team will make a plan that will be shared with the general public for comments, but at this stage its commitment to the community is to involve them in envisioning the process.

Collaborate

Collaboration can be defined as the action of working with others to produce or create something together. This level includes all the elements of the “involve” level plus consensus building, in which community members are given the opportunity to secure ownership over the planning process and its outcomes. This can aid in effective implementation (Innes and Booher 2010).

This stage is an appropriate point at which to formalize communities and organizations in the community if previous efforts to involve the community were productive. These formal or informal organizations can help to multiply development efforts in the community and can serve as hubs for the collaboration of other actors. Most importantly, high levels of collaboration generate reciprocity, demonstrating mutual benefits to the partnership (Ulibarri and Scott 2017).

Still, at this level, the planning department, city council, or mayor will most likely make the ultimate decision. Before entering a community engagement process, the planner should determine to what degree a community partner or

FROM “LOST IN TRANSLATION” TO “BEYOND SPANGLISH”: TACKLING TECHNICAL TRANSLATION IN REGIONAL LAND-USE PLANNING

By Erica Gutierrez, Jesus Herrera, and Los Angeles County Department of Regional Planning Spanish Planning Committee members

According to the 2017 American Community Survey, about 58 percent of the total Los Angeles County population speaks Spanish. These changing demographics have led the county’s Department of Regional Planning (DRP) to examine its translation and interpretation services, particularly for technical documents.

Effective translation in the planning profession requires technical competency, deep linguistic knowledge, and some cultural understanding. DRP has traditionally hired both technically and culturally competent staff who can speak languages other than English. For example, 15 percent of DRP staff are certified to provide Spanish language services.

Though this hiring precedent is instrumental for effective translation work, DRP knew that additional initiatives could go beyond this. In 2014 it created its Spanish planning program to enhance technical translation for land-use and regional planning and better serve its Spanish-speaking constituents and communities. The program established a Spanish Planning Committee (Figure 4.5), which conducts in-house translations, develops interpretation protocols, and spearheads service enhancement projects.

The committee developed a Spanish planning glossary as a reference tool and guide for planners to use in the review and translation of existing and new planning materials. This regularly updated glossary contains essential Spanish planning terms and is both formal and accessible for community members. It has proven valuable to planning staff and interpreters and is particularly useful in predominantly Spanish-speaking

communities such as East Los Angeles, La Puente, Lennox, Florence-Firestone, West Athens-Westmont, and West Rancho Dominguez. It also enhances the accuracy of live interpretation at the planning counter, at community meetings, and in public hearings.

Spanish words have different meanings depending on the speaker’s country of origin and geographic regions, and the Spanish-speaking population of Los Angeles County represents more than 20 different Latin American countries. With its diverse membership of local Spanish speakers, the program ensures that oral interpretation and written documents in Spanish by DRP are translated both accurately and consistently. DRP staff who serve on the committee come from distinct cultural backgrounds and various countries such as Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Chile, and Argentina. To date, the committee has produced a wide range of departmental materials, such as application forms, flyers for community meetings, and public hearing notices, all developed to edu-

cate and inform county constituents.

Very few programs similar to this currently exist in other U.S. planning agencies. To help spread this work, the Los Angeles County DRP has shared the glossary with other planning professionals at American Planning Association California Chapter conferences.

Although the program is unique, it is replicable. It could be expanded to other languages or to other regional, county, and city planning departments. For DRP, improving communication with all of its communities has enhanced customer service and community participation, allowing for more collaborative planning for the challenges ahead and increased likelihood for progress.

For more information about DRP’s Spanish Planning Committee and Program or to download a copy of the Spanish Planning Glossary, please visit <http://planning.lacounty.gov/es> or <http://planning.lacounty.gov/spanish>.



Figure 4.5. Los Angeles Department of Regional Planning (DRP) Spanish Planning Committee staff (Photo Erica Gutierrez, Jesus Herrera, and Los Angeles County Department of Regional Planning’s Spanish Planning Committee)

an advisory group will have control over the ultimate decision. It is important that planning departments know beforehand how much authority they are willing to share, and they should be explicit with the partners about this.

Planners can also collaborate with organizations for engagement, such as community-based organizations (CBOs) that serve people of color. Instead of considering CBOs to be stakeholder groups, planners can engage with these organizations as coproducers. CBOs know the nuances of conducting meetings and they already have connections that might result in better attendance. Planners can codesign participation workshops with CBOs, but they should compensate organizations for their work and treat them as partners. For example, planning organizations can hire CBOs to manage outreach. By doing this, planners will also be building long-term relationships that are beneficial to the planning office, the CBO, and residents.

As an example, a planner might want to learn how to improve the city's bus system based on resident feedback facilitated by the CBO in a coproduced engagement process. After the transportation agency has made changes to the city's transportation system, the planner can go back to the CBO and ask it to help promote the new program that the agency designed with its collaboration. A good example of the "collaborate" strategy can be found in the *Service Enhancement Plan for TriMet*, the transportation agency serving the Portland, Oregon, region. Using the collaborate IAP2 model, TriMet worked with local CBOs to develop a multicultural engagement strategy. Another example—the collaboration between a citizen advisory group and the public housing authority in Chicago—is provided in the sidebar by April Jackson on p. 66.

Empower

At the "empower" level, planners allow communities to make their own decisions on issues that affect their lives. Local community members are empowered through community-based planning processes that directly involve them in political, cultural, and economic considerations that are important to them.

One well-known empowerment initiative is the participatory budgeting process. This strategy started in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 1989, and has since spread to more than 1,400 cities around the world. For example, each year Chicago's aldermanic offices dedicate \$1 million per community district to participatory budgeting processes (UIC Great Cities Institute 2018). Community members brainstorm ideas and talk about the kinds of projects on which they can spend

their funds. They vote to decide how funds are expended in their community and work with planners to create a more formalized plan. Funded projects are implemented the next year. New York City also has participatory budgeting for discretionary funds. Vallejo, California, dedicates its sales tax for these purposes, while Boston uses about \$5 million annually for its youth office and involves the youth in the participatory budgeting process.

The empowerment approach turns a community into a proactive development and engagement engine by creating an environment that inspires democracy, diversity, and empowerment. An example of this is Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in the Boston area, described in the sidebar on p. 68. Another example of empowerment comes from New Mexico, where members of the Cherokee Nation learned to use GIS to create their own plans (Harjo 2006). Planners facilitated the process by training the indigenous planners and recognizing their authority.

An important criticism of the "empower" and "collaborate" levels is that these approaches might encompass only the elite in a community and not represent the interests of the community at large. For example, a planner could reach out to a community of color but only engage those elite members who run cultural centers, museums, and other organizations. These elites would not represent affordable housing residents or older adults who might be the majority in the neighborhood. In fact, their interests might be completely in opposition to the non-elite majority.

Planners also have to be cautious of overly empowering the "old guard": long-time neighborhood residents that resist change and might sideline newer voices. For example, a community council might be composed of older African American adults while the neighborhood is transitioning to young Latino families. A planner needs to be able to navigate these diverse and changing environments and must be careful that collaboration and empowerment do not manifest as the rule of the most powerful or the majority, even if they are people of color.

OVERCOMING BARRIERS TO ENGAGEMENT

Immigrants and people of color often experience barriers that prevent them from participating in community activities. Common barriers to participation include lack of knowledge, transportation constraints, child care needs, lack of money and other resources, time constraints, limited access to information, language and literacy barriers, and lack

BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS: COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT ON THE BORDER

By Edna Ledesma, Lecturer and Research Fellow, University of Texas at Austin
and Cecilia Giusti, PhD, Associate Dean for Outreach and Diversity, Texas A&M University

A key mission of the Texas A&M University (TAMU) College of Architecture at Texas is to positively impact the built environment. An ongoing collaboration between TAMU and the city of Brownsville, Texas, exemplifies these efforts. The *Diálogo on the Border* conference of 2013 and the *pláticas* workshops of 2015 present lessons for community engagement impacting a Latino border community.

Following an initiative of the Latinos and Planning Division of the American Planning Association, the *Diálogo on the Border* aimed at engaging in conversation about the most pressing issues affecting communities with increasing Latino populations. The *Diálogo* model was originally designed to be a tool for planners asking how to better understand and intervene in increasingly Latino communities. For this border city, TAMU added some specific questions: (1) What are the most pressing issues facing border areas? (2) Who is involved now and who else should be involved in

addressing these issues? and (3) What is the meaning of borders in planning beyond disciplines, geographies, cultures, or languages? For example, one topic for discussion was the U.S.–Mexico border wall, as it created a significant planning concern in the city.

The *Diálogo* took place over two days in April 2013. Led by TAMU, it also engaged the University of Texas at Brownsville and Texas Southmost College. More than 100 people participated, including city officials, government and nonprofit agency staff, and institutions from local, state, national, and international levels that engaged citizens and students from local high schools.

The *Diálogo* followed a creative format that facilitated interaction. It consisted of academic and professional presentations, followed by Q&A sessions (*Diálogos*) and hands-on workshops; a walk in the historic downtown complemented the experience (Figures 4.6 and 4.7). TAMU students took notes during

the conversation to document the dialogue. A hands-on participatory artistic session explored real problems and personal perceptions. The diversity of the participants and creative ways to engage them allowed for a genuine conversation about issues affecting Latinos on the border. The act of listening served as the underlying tool for involving the audience in a discussion of planning issues.

Challenges in engaging hard-to-reach populations is a prevalent discussion in the planning literature. The challenge is extreme in the border area as it has a stigma of being isolated, dangerous, criminal, and poverty stricken; residents fear this area. The *Diálogo* model, however, showed that facilitating interaction among people who would otherwise not be in the same room in a welcoming and creative setting is a way to foster an open platform for addressing current issues.

Following the success of the *Diálogo*, TAMU assisted the city of Browns-



Figure 4.6 (left). Historic Downtown Brownsville tour with Dr. Knopp from the University of Texas at Brownsville (Edna Ledesma)



Figure 4.7 (right). Miriam Olivares, PhD student at Texas A&M University, demonstrates the use of a Wii-table/GIS interface to map issues around the city (Edna Ledesma)

ville in 2015 to develop a series of focus groups, or *pláticas*, Spanish for “conversations.” The goal of the *pláticas* was to help the city’s planning department address economic development issues surrounding local vendor markets.

The *pláticas* engaged local market vendors, market management, city officials, and community leaders (Figures 4.8 and 4.9). Three separate meetings were organized: one for market vendors, one for city leaders, and one where both sides could come together and discuss their views. Having these “opposite” groups meet for engaged conversation was a way to address planning and economic development in a creative way.

Faculty and students from the Architecture Program at Texas Southmost College were essential partners for the *pláticas*, serving as discussion leaders and note takers for the focus groups. The location of the *pláticas* was also key to their success. The first *plática* targeting local market vendors was held at a local Catholic church community center; the second and third, targeting city leaders and both groups, respectively, were held in a nonprofit workspace located downtown.

The focus and scope of the *pláticas* were clearly defined and the following questions were asked: (1) What is the

relevance of Latino markets to the local economy? (2) What are the needs for improving Latino vendor opportunities in markets and in the city? (3) What resources are available for Latino micro-business ventures in markets and in the city? (4) How can the city improve Latino microbusiness ventures in markets and in the city?

Especially relevant was the third *plática* to help the city develop short- and long-term recommendations for improving Latino vendor markets for Brownsville. Through the *pláticas*, vendors and the city recognized that there is a lack of capital and resources for micro-businesses and there is a need to make greater efforts to support markets. The city saw the younger generation as its greatest asset and market vendors emphasized that they, as human capital, are contributing to the local economy.

Several lessons can be drawn from these two experiences:

- Creating actual physical spaces where an open conversation happens is, perhaps, the most powerful tool available for planning in our communities.
- These spaces need to feel and be safe and welcoming for diverse groups.

- Dialogues should include creativity in multiple ways, both in ideas and ways to implement them.
- The art of listening is key and needs to be emphasized.
- Universities and colleges can positively impact communities by supporting an environment of inclusiveness and openness.

For additional information please visit the following webpages:

Diálogo:

www.planning.org/divisions/latinos/dialogos
www.arch.tamu.edu/diversity/events/dialogo

Pláticas:

www.arch.tamu.edu/diversity/events/platicas
<http://sites.tdl.org/southtexassustainability>



Figure 4.8 (left). Texas A&M University and Texas Southmost College students facilitate a *plática* with local market vendors (Edna Ledesma)



Figure 4.9 (right). Brownsville officials discuss local economic development strategies at the second *plática* (Edna Ledesma)

PLANNING FOR INCLUSION IN CHICAGO MIXED-INCOME COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF WESTHAVEN PARK

By April Jackson, Florida State University

Creating inclusive mixed-income communities when redeveloping public housing projects is a difficult task. Existing public housing residents are often not included in the planning process, and strict screening criteria limit residents' abilities to return to redeveloped sites. Furthermore, the new mixed-income community is often composed of new middle- and higher-income residents with few original public housing tenants. The case of Westhaven Park, however, represents a project where public housing residents achieved some authority over the planning process through a consent decree and used this as leverage to negotiate decisions and gain inclusion in the newly redeveloped mixed-income community (Jackson 2015).

Westhaven Park, which encompasses 26 acres, is located on the Near West Side of Chicago and is home to the former Henry Horner Homes. The redevelopment process for Westhaven Park was initiated in 1991 through a resident lawsuit led by the Sargent Shriver National Center on Poverty Law on behalf of the Horner Residents Council (HRC). The existing residents wanted the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) to be prohibited from "de facto demolition" of the Henry Horner Homes and demanded that the property be maintained with habitable residential units.

In 1995, a consent decree was reached that required any Henry Horner redevelopment to be completed in multiple phases with minimal resident displacement and adherence to one-for-one replacement, meaning that one public housing unit would be built for each one that was demolished. The decree required the CHA and develop-

ers to reach agreements with the HRC on all matters related to the redevelopment. Therefore, tenants were able to enter into a binding agreement with the CHA that allowed residents to not only be included in the planning process, but to also have decision-making authority.

The CHA received an \$18.4 million HOPE VI grant in 1996 and started its initial planning process in 2001. The consent decree facilitated a unique planning process in which residents benefited by having an accountability mechanism in place. Three key decisions around unit mix, development phasing, and screening requirements facilitated significant resident inclusion that limited displacement. In contrast, the majority of public housing residents in other CHA developments have not had the advantage of a consent decree and therefore have had limited opportunities to return to redeveloped mixed-income sites.

At each mixed-income development, the CHA has instituted a working group as the governing authority to provide project oversight and shape decision making as it relates to specific project concerns. The consent decree afforded wide latitude for Henry Horner residents during the planning process, during which the mandated working group made decisions on redevelopment plans. The working group was composed of representatives from the CHA; Habitat Company (the developer); the Local Advisory Committee (a board elected from public housing residents and recognized by CHA to ensure fairness in the Westhaven Park development); the city of Chicago; the Leadership Council for *Gautreaux* plaintiffs (a group of residents that filed class-action lawsuits against CHA related to seg-

regation of public housing); the local alderman; the HRC, along with its legal counsel; and a community representative. The consent decree gave the HRC a certain degree of power, which the HRC legal counsel and *Gautreaux* plaintiffs used to fight for their interests.

A contentious battle was waged over unit mix throughout Phases II and III, along with how to distribute the units in the proposed mid-rise building. There were two distinct opinions: the development team did not support building integration of rental and for-sale units, but the *Gautreaux* plaintiffs, there to enforce integration and ensure that public housing residents were not segregated at Westhaven Park, wanted integration not only by block, but also by building. Ultimately, they were successful in securing a commitment by the development team to integrate the units in the mid-rise building, with concessions that the mid-rise building would not be occupied by families and would only house 79 condos and 34 public housing units.

The Horner superblock, comprising 200 units reserved for public housing residents, raised another issue around unit mix. The CHA filed a motion in 2012 to convert the superblock to a mix of townhome or two-flat public, affordable, and market-rate units to ensure that the site would be fully integrated with higher-income residents. The CHA would allow the original 73 Horner families living on the superblock to remain in the original building, moving the other public housing residents into the new replacement units that were also available to higher-income, nonpublic-housing residents. The HRC and its counsel filed a response arguing that the superblock was already a mixed-income, mixed-race

community with higher rates of employment and engagement than public housing residents living in the mixed-income portions of Westhaven Park. The parties continued to negotiate and in 2013, an agreement was reached to keep 95 public housing units to account for all the existing residents that wanted to stay, along with 50 affordable and 55 market-rate units. The superblock negotiations are an important example of how the consent decree protected the rights of public housing residents that would otherwise have been displaced.

Based on the consent decree guidelines, Henry Horner tenants remained on-site during the redevelopment process. Unlike other mixed-income development sites where the buildings were demolished and tenants relocated, at Westhaven Park the development team had to plan around existing buildings and residents. As new buildings were constructed, tenants had to move into

the new buildings before an existing Henry Horner high rise could be demolished. While Westhaven Park was more difficult to construct, the consent decree paved the way to limit resident displacement and move residents directly from the existing Henry Horner high rises into newly built mixed-income units.

An added benefit of the consent decree was that existing residents did not have to adhere to the CHA's strict screening requirements, such as a 30-hour work week or drug testing, to live in Westhaven Park. These requirements have greatly limited residents' ability to return in other redevelopments. As a result, Westhaven Park has a 60 percent return rate of existing residents and the development does not adhere to a one-third public housing, one-third affordable housing, and one-third market-rate housing mix as do many other CHA developments.

Westhaven Park is considered a model HOPE VI project (Figure 4.10). In

this project, the consent decree facilitated a unique planning process where residents guided important decisions around the final unit mix and screening and work requirements. These decisions in turn limited resident displacement and promoted the inclusion of existing public housing tenants at Westhaven Park.



Figure 4.10. Westhaven Park (Wikimedia Commons)

DUDLEY STREET NEIGHBORHOOD INITIATIVE: A CASE OF EMPOWERMENT

The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative is one of the great examples of community-driven development in the United States (Medoff and Sklar 1999). Dudley Square, a once-beautiful and vibrant community in the Roxbury neighborhood of Boston, had become one of the city's poorest neighborhoods by the 1960s. The deterioration continued in this mostly Latino community through the 1970s while surrounding whiter communities prospered. By the 1980s, the neighborhood was used for illegal dumping of hazardous waste and more than one-fifth of the neighborhood's land area was vacant, with most of the remainder occupied by people who simply could not afford to live elsewhere.

A nonprofit called La Alianza Hispana, directed by Nelson Merced, had been formed with the goal of advocating for the Latino community. In 1984, Merced reached out to the Riley Foundation, a Boston-based organization that provides grants to inner-city organizations in financial straits. Seeking funds to renovate the La Alianza Hispana building on Dudley Street, he asked the trustees to take a tour of the neighborhood. This tour was the spark that would ignite a fire in the community.

When the Riley Foundation trustees arrived in the neighborhood, they were shocked by the level of disinvestment in the community. The sight of the vacant lots and the trash dumped on those lots, including toxic substances such as lead-based paint and used motor oil, was enough to spur the Riley Foundation to action. In conjunction with Merced and other community leaders, the Riley Foundation created the Dudley Advisory Group in September 1984. One month later, the members of the Dudley Advisory Group voted to become their own or-

ganization separate from the Riley Foundation, giving birth to the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI 2018).

DSNI's mission is to empower Dudley residents to organize, plan for, create, and control a vibrant, diverse, and high-quality neighborhood in collaboration with community partners. The work of community members toward this goal has led to a number of highly successful programs aimed at making the area safe, clean, and beautiful, and has promoted the success of its residents. It also led to DSNI obtaining the power of eminent domain over the development of its land four years after its inception, the first and only time such a power has been granted to a community. Its 34-seat board of directors includes residents from each of the four major ethnic groups present in the community (African American, Latino, Cape Verdean, and white), as well as representation for other groups within the neighborhood, such as youth, nonprofit agencies, religious institutions, businesses, and community development corporations, plus two additional board-appointed residents.

The coordination of many programs working with different goals has enabled the neighborhood to achieve its mission. DSNI has developed and implemented a number of youth-centered programs, such as these three examples:

- GOTCHA (Get Off the Corner Hanging Around) was created with the help of community partners such as the Bowdoin Street Health Center, Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation, Bird Street Community Center, and The City School to provide Dudley-area teens with job opportunities so they can establish work experience and learn valuable skills early in life. The premise

of the program is that community youths can be productive members of society.

- The Dudley Youth Council is a nonprofit governed and maintained by the area's youth. Their mission is to empower and educate other youth, to give them a voice in their community, and to encourage their participation in rebuilding and maintaining the vibrancy of their neighborhood.
- Dudley Children Thrive is a chapter of Boston Children Thrive, a program aimed at increasing parental participation in Boston area schools. The program is concerned with the education and subsequent involvement of parents with their children's education; it partners with other organizations, such as Child Services of Roxbury, Project Hope, and La Alianza Hispana, to achieve that goal.

Other notable examples of programs created by DSNI include the following:

- Don't Dump On Us! was a successful campaign launched in 1986 to end the illegal dumping of toxic wastes onto vacant lots in the Dudley area. This program not only put an end to the dumping but also inspired annual community clean-ups and beautifying events that still take place today.
- Dudley Neighbors, Inc., (DNI) was established in 1988 as a community land trust. DNI was responsible for the nonprofit gaining the power of eminent domain, following state approval recognizing it as an urban development corporation. DNI is responsible for leasing vacant lots to developers to create jobs and affordable housing for the community's residents. Today

it is a full-fledged community development corporation. It has created 226 affordable homes on more than 30 vacant lots and operates a 10,000-square-foot community greenhouse and urban farm. DNI has also developed parks with open space and playgrounds as well as an urban village with commercial space.

- The Economic Development Committee was formed in response to the neighborhood's struggling economic sector in 1992, after DSNI had proven its capacity for success in other areas of concern, such as the environment, housing, and youth participation. The committee, though recognizing that economic development is often dependent upon greater factors beyond the community's control, encourages change on a grassroots level within the neighborhood and its citizens.
- Equally suggestive of the neighborhood's singular sense of community is Dudley PRIDE (People and Resources Investing in Dudley's Environment), created in 1991. In addition to improving the aesthetics of the neighborhood, Dudley PRIDE was created to instill a sense of pride in the residents of the Dudley Street area by bettering the response of the city to health, safety, and environmental issues and improving awareness and public safety. The group's periodic newsletter is published in three languages, highlighting the spirit of diversity evident in all of DSNI's policies.

The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative is an inspirational example of what can happen when a community is empowered to create its own community development programs and change its destiny, with the support of foundations and government partners, including planners.

of trust. These barriers have been documented extensively in the literature and are discussed here briefly. Planners should be aware of all these potential barriers, make efforts to learn what their own constituents struggle with, and work to help overcome those barriers.

Lack of Knowledge

Lack of knowledge about government procedures and understanding of the public decision-making process is a major barrier to public engagement, especially for immigrants (though many long-time residents are also unfamiliar with local government procedures). For example, in a planning commission meeting, the commission may be making an administrative decision regarding only a project's setbacks and heights. If residents come to the meeting wanting to talk about parking and traffic concerns, they may leave the meeting feeling unheard and ignored when these issues are not addressed.

As the above example suggests, the public may not know that only certain elements and not others are being considered in a particular meeting or event. It is important for planners to educate the public about where and when there are opportunities to influence a decision. Education can happen at the planning commission meeting, but ideally planners would educate the public in other forums as well. For example, they can create videos that people can watch before attending a public meeting, they can create simplified sheets that outline the issue at hand, or—even better—they can give workshops free of charge to residents that are interested in the planning process.

Planners also need to think about the engagement of those who have a limited knowledge of general government procedures, including those from immigrant communities. This could include explaining the functions of the state legislature and city council, the mayoral decision-making process, the relationship between these bodies in making decisions, and—most importantly—how residents can affect policy making. It is important for planners to embrace their role as civic educators and share as much information as they can with the public.

Lack of Transportation

A lack of transportation is more commonly an issue for immigrants and people of color than for other demographic groups. Transportation is a barrier if a household does not have access to a reliable car or has limited funds to pay for gas and other costs. Transportation also can be a barrier for individual household members if a car is shared among household members, which is not an unusual situation.

Many immigrants do not drive because they are unable to obtain a driver's license; others may not drive if driving is not the norm in their culture. Disability may also limit mobility, especially for people of color. In the 2017 American Community Survey, African Americans and American Indians/Alaska Natives self-reported higher disability rates of 14 and 17.3 percent, respectively, than did whites at 13.3 percent. Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islanders and Asians reported lower rates of disability at 10.3 and seven percent, respectively.

Planners should choose meeting locations that can be reached by public transportation. They can also provide video or teleconferencing options for those who cannot attend the meeting or are homebound. Videos and podcasts can be shared via email list and Facebook, where people can be redirected to the planning organization website.

Location

The place where public engagement events are held is an issue that relates to transportation, access, and level of comfort in participation. A meeting space appropriate for engaging people of color and immigrants, as described above, should be close to public transportation and ideally one that is familiar to community members. Government offices should be avoided, as they might be feared by some community members, particularly undocumented immigrants. Exclusionary or highly gendered spaces should also be avoided.

A good strategy is to hold events in the places commonly used and trusted by the members of the target community, such as community centers, schools, day labor centers, and common areas in apartment complexes. As described above, offering video or phone conferences, both live and recorded, as options for community members may help some to overcome locational barriers to participation.

Meeting Format and Communication

The structure of meetings—and communications about them—also can be barriers. Certain modes of informing people about upcoming meetings may exclude participation of people of color and immigrants if these community members lack access to or are unfamiliar with these modes. For example, using social media such as Twitter and Facebook may exclude community members who do not use these tools.

Tools used in the meetings themselves may also be exclusionary. Some people of color and immigrants may be unfamiliar with procedures used widely among planning practitioners, such as Robert's Rules of Order. Technical or legal language used in public hearings, for example at a plan-

ning commission hearing, might also pose a barrier to comprehension and engagement. Planners should speak in plain language, as Natalie Macris, an urban planner, writer, and editor, suggests in her book *Planning in Plain English: Writing Tips for Urban and Environmental Planners* (Macris 2002).

Planners can also create simplified sheets that explain the issue at hand, and they can use infographics to communicate ideas quickly and effectively. For example, the American Planning Association is now creating infographics for each PAS Report (see p. 2). Finally, planners can use video, which can be shared through social media, websites, and other outlets, including at the very beginning of a planning meeting.

Language and Literacy Barriers

Immigrants might experience language barriers that prevent them from engaging in community and public events. People might be unable to effectively communicate with staff without depending on interpreters, family, or friends. They might also be unable to read in English or even in their own language. Literacy issues can prevent people from learning about community activities and engaging in them.

Overcoming language and communication barriers often requires speaking simply and clearly to community members in their own languages. Planners should seek to translate all informational material and discussion at a meeting. Conducting meetings and events fully in participants' own languages (especially by a member of that community) is even better. Always avoid technical jargon. Further, planners should try to use techniques that are fun and engaging to community members. Hands-on techniques that require minimal literacy to participate can be especially effective when working with immigrant communities. The Place It! model developed by Latino urbanist James Rojas, which uses art- and play-based activities, is described in the sidebar on p. 72.

Meeting Schedules

The timing of meetings and activities also can pose barriers. Planners should research the timing of competing activities related to the community, such as religious services or cultural events, and seek to schedule participatory activities at complementary times.

Planners should also draw on local knowledge in choosing times and places that work well for community members. For instance, scheduling a meeting at a school before or after parents come to drop off or pick up their kids might make sense. Many community schools have ESL (English as a second language) or life skills programs for parents; meetings could be scheduled before or after these events.

Costs

Another barrier to public engagement is a lack of money. Low-income people of color and immigrants might not be able to take time off work, may be working overtime or carrying extra shifts, or may have little leisure time due to chores and other activities. People might be unwilling to spend money or give up personal time for an activity they do not see as essential.

Associated costs may include transportation, child care, or food, all of which may be beyond individual budgets. Many people will choose to spend time at work or with their families after being at their places of employment all week instead of attending a planning meeting, especially if there are time or cost conflicts. Providing food, childcare, gift cards, or bus passes are ways of reducing these economic burdens on families. Food in particular can be a versatile tool for encouraging engagement on many different levels.

Trust

Trust is another enduring issue in engaging communities of color. A lack of diversity in institutional participants can lead people of color and immigrants to distrust community activities, as they may perceive that they are not for them. For instance, if all the staff or board or commission members are of the same racial or ethnic group, the community might see this as an indication of inability to relate to other racial or ethnic groups, even if staff are culturally competent.

Immigrants without visas often distrust public employees and other government representatives and might hesitate to provide personal information or opinions. They might be unwilling to complete basic questions on surveys, such as those pertaining to nationality, race, ethnicity, educational attainment, or address. Concerns about confidentiality (e.g., sharing personal information with other agencies and government departments) take precedence over a desire to contribute to the planning process.

A simple way of overcoming the trust issue is to employ members of the community to conduct surveys and help facilitate planning meetings. Ideally, planning organizations will employ staff that represent the community where the outreach is being conducted. As an alternative, planning organizations can hire staff from other trusted organizations in the community to either facilitate meetings or collect data.

Relevance

The issues presented to immigrant communities and communities of color should be relevant to them. For example, many community members are interested in the education

of their children. They may not want to talk about walking and biking for personal exercise or greenhouse gas emission reduction, but they might be interested in discussing a “safe routes to school” program to help their children get to school more safely. Or they might want to talk about green open space for their kids to play soccer. Residents might not be interested in attending a charrette on the topic of food deserts or the creation of community gardens, but they might be willing to come to a cooking class on their favorite national dish to try different kinds of local products and discuss food-related issues.

It is important for planners to find out what different people care about and how they want to talk about those issues. Planners can learn about the things that are important to community members via one-on-one conversations, surveys, focus groups, charrettes, and engaging with local organizations that serve the community, among other techniques already explained in this chapter.

ENGAGING WITH DIVERSE COMMUNITIES

An overarching way that planners can work to overcome all of these barriers is to build long-term relationships with immigrant communities and communities of color. The best way to do this is to build relationships with community leaders—the people who are actively building community by working on issues that matter to the community. Community leaders might be part of formal institutions (e.g., schools or nonprofit organizations) or nonformalized groups (e.g., block clubs); they might be employees or volunteers with these groups.

Planners can help to cultivate leaders within a community by investing in capacity building in these areas. Examples include offering classes, employment, and formal titles for involved community members, such as through commission or board appointments.

The following is a checklist that planners can apply to more effectively include immigrants and people of color in participatory processes:

1. What is the time commitment for this and future events?
2. Is this a place the community would frequent?
3. Is the venue neutral and not intimidating (e.g., not governmental offices, bars, or churches, which may pose barriers for members of another religion)?
4. Are there time conflicts (work, church, prayer time, holidays, or celebrations)?
5. Is the location accessible?
6. Can we offer video or phone conferencing options?

PLACE IT!: COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT FOR DIVERSITY

James Rojas, Place It!

Planners need to think of every person of color as a potential friend and every meeting as an opportunity to build a good relationship with them. Human beings are social creatures interested in others. Planning can satisfy the need to socialize by bringing people together to engage in activities and conversations to bond and create empathy.

For people of color, social cohesion is important because that is how they survive. They are concerned about family, friends, and neighbors. Therefore, planners need to reinforce social cohesion and investigate the sense of belonging to each other and community. People of color organize their lives around patterns from nature, events, and transactions. People of color have memories, needs, and aspirations. Aspirations are why they get out of bed in the morning. They all have dreams that they want to be fulfilled. Communities, just like people, have aspirations that should be highlighted in planning.

Planners need to approach communities of color as if they were family and friends and provide different tools to facilitate socialization, communication, and problem solving. What allows people to feel comfortable and let them open up to have a meaningful experience with planning that begins with them? Meet people where they are physically, socially, and mentally. Create a collaborative, not a competitive, environment. Use the body, mind, and heart as tools to understand the city's visual, spatial, and emotional landscape as the medium—no maps, numbers, or words.

For the past 10 years I have been developing an inclusive and accommodating meeting facilitation process for ethnically and culturally diverse

groups called Place It! (www.placeit.org). I have facilitated well over 900 successful workshops transforming the lives of thousands of participants, mainly from underserved communities. I never use maps, PowerPoints, numbers, or policy—rather, I humanize the process through techniques such as story building, reflective prompts, objects, art-making, and play. These tools provide people who can't read maps an opportunity to articulate and express their emotions, attachment to place, planning concerns, and aspirations.

The Place It! process is people-based, not design-based, planning. These strategies for meeting facilitation enhance and encourage the following elements:

- Social cohesion: People are concerned with their families, friends, and neighbors.
- Belonging: How do they belong physically and socially in the landscape?
- Healing: Understand their struggle.
- Aspirations: What are their aspirations?
- Self-determination: Encourage people to plan on their own.

Planners need tools that allow for an easy point of entry and appeal to a wide variety of participants—for example, visual and spatial thinkers. Shifting the engagement tools shifts the outcome and power. The following four approaches can be used separately or all together.

- **Art-based strategy** applies the four tenets of art production to the urban planning process. Like artists, participants use their imaginations, investi-

gate which techniques they can use to express themselves, construct their ideas, and reflect on what they have created. It gives participants artistic license to think and be creative without any physical constraints. Art helps participants translate memories, emotions, and aspirations into tangible realities and planning data. The power of art lies not in experiencing it but in producing it.

- **Play-based brainstorming** removes barriers and promotes collaboration because everyone knows how and likes to play. Through play, children mimic and reflect on their experiences; this helps children make sense of their world. Play is self-facilitating. Participants relax because there are no right or wrong answers, which reduces the fear of failure. Through play people can inquire about and experiment with the physical landscape of their community.
- **Object-based planning** broadens participants' problem-solving abilities and communication options. The urban landscape is a visual, spatial, and emotional experience that is best articulated through objects. The textures, shapes, and colors of small everyday household objects—such as hair rollers, buttons, artificial flowers, popsicle sticks, pipe cleaners, and other familiar items—let participants recreate, understand, and articulate their physical and emotional connections to the physical landscape (Figures 4.11 and 4.12, p. 73). The inherent visual and spatial aspects of objects promote collaboration and problem solving and facilitate expression.
- **Building stories** weaves participants' lived experiences into the city, which

helps them understand how they belong. Storytelling is a common way of conveying information and learning. In “building a story,” participants use physical objects to illustrate in three dimensions a memory, need, aspiration, or moment in time, like a movie or stage set. This activity can help participants understand why planning matters in their lives. Through building their stories participants unlock personal knowledge of the environment they might not know they had. Participants further learn how to examine and articulate their physical and emotional needs in the built environment.

These tools help planners humanize planning meetings and build trust and relationships with residents and stakeholders. They give the planners the opportunity to listen intently and capture every whisper in the room as opposed to the loudest voice. Planners learn the planning language of participants rather than imposing their technical language.

Using these tools allows planners to reframe their approach. Rather than starting with “bricks and mortar,” planners start by understanding the lives of residents and stakeholders and their sense of belonging. This allows planners to craft the policies, projects, or developments that enhance people’s sense of belonging. By humanizing the facilitation process, planners create nurturing and healing environments for participants.

For communities of color, these tools enhance social bonds and help them understand how they belong to each other and community, and why planning matters. Participants can learn from each other and collaborate. From this they can establish collective values to determine development. Residents learn how to apply their intuitive knowledge that can help them take a critical viewpoint, ask the right questions, and establish a planning agenda. They learn how they can examine the built environment and that they are their own planning experts. Through

these tools the public learns that they have the capacity to plan on their own. This encourages self-determination and leadership. By applying these interactive tools to a varied group of players—strangers, neighbors, friends, families—all feel good about themselves, their community, and planning.



*Figures 4.11 and 4.12.
Placemaking and
storytelling in a Los An-
geles County workshop
(James Rojas)*

7. Can we provide or reimburse travel expenses (e.g., bus or parking passes)?
8. Can we offer child care?
9. Can we provide food?
10. Did we take into consideration cultural dietary norms?
11. What are the preferred methods of communication (e.g., word of mouth, social media, radio)?
12. Who can we collaborate with to gain trust and buy-in?
13. Where can we find interpreters or signers?
14. Do we have the capacity to conduct the meeting entirely in a non-English language?
15. Are there a wide variety of literacy levels in the expected audience?
16. How can we make this event more engaging, relevant, and hands-on?
17. How can attendees learn more, further engage, and stay connected?

CONCLUSION

Many individuals in communities of color often experience barriers that prevent them from participating in planning activities. Common barriers to participation include, among others, lack of transportation, child care, time, cost, and lack of information. These barriers have been widely documented in the academic literature and have been discussed in this chapter.

Participation should be understood as a means to increase democracy as well as a way of giving power and voice to communities that have been marginalized politically in the past. In this way, participation is seen as a propelling mechanism of combating uneven development and learning from communities about how to improve their quality of life economically, socially, environmentally, and culturally.

This chapter has shown the diverse forms that community engagement can take for diverse communities. It presents a guiding participatory framework and covers tools that help to overcome issues more often faced by immigrants and people of color in public engagement processes.

When using participatory methods, it is very important to not only produce knowledge and solutions along with the community but also to share the outcomes with everyone involved in the process (Chen, Acey, and Lara 2015). Whether the methods presented in this chapter or other methods are used, success depends largely on the drive and commitment of planners, decision makers, and leaders within the community.

CHAPTER 5

TOOLS FOR PLANNING WITH DIVERSITY

The dynamic trends described in the preceding chapters reflect the changing realities facing planners today and in the decades to come. Increased interactions with diverse communities present planners with challenges as well as possibilities. Among these challenges is the need to identify and understand the priorities, values, and concerns of diversifying communities. This can be accomplished by building on the cross-cultural engagement efforts described in Chapter 4.

As planners develop stronger relationships with people of color and a better understanding of the diversity within their communities, they will also find new possibilities for implementing a wide range of innovative and creative planning tools to achieve more equitable outcomes. But not every tool will work equally well in meeting the needs of all population groups within diverse communities. Planners will need to use their discretion, sensitivity, awareness, creativity, compassion, and open-mindedness to find the right tools for each unique situation.

Finding the right tools is best done in collaboration with others, which depends on getting to know communities of color well. To gain more than cursory knowledge, planners will need to go to directly to these communities and walk through neighborhoods, listen, observe, and get to know people. In this process, planners should be prepared for moments of discomfort borne of being the stranger or the outsider. They can deal with these moments by drawing on training that builds skills in cultural competency, listening, and nonjudgmental observation. Engaging with community-based allies, such as local neighborhood groups or nonprofit organizations, can also help planners learn more about these communities.

The same major elements—economic opportunity, transportation and mobility, housing, health and safety, and placemaking—affect quality of life for everyone. This chapter offers examples of different approaches and tools planners can apply in these five areas to address some of the inequalities and challenges facing people of color and help make ethnically and racially diverse communities better for all. Many tools described in this chapter will be familiar to planners; this discussion focuses on how these tools can benefit communities of color and how planners can apply them in working with diverse communities.

EXPANDING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

Income is known to be a determinant of health (Woolf et al. 2015). Income inequality has been established as a determinant of societal well-being and its counterparts, such as mental illness, levels of violence and incarceration, poor performance in schools, obesity, and drug use (Pickett and Wilkinson 2015, Wilkinson and Pickett 2009). Researchers have consistently found that greater income inequality leads to worse outcomes for everyone, not just the poorest members of society. The data suggests that expanding economic opportunities for diverse communities, whether through job training or self-employment opportunities, should be of paramount concern to planners and society alike.

Planners can begin to understand the level of economic opportunity needed by the people of color in their cities and towns by determining how income and jobs are distributed at the neighborhood level. At the national level, data show that African Americans are twice as likely and Latinos 1.5 times as likely to be unemployed compared to whites and Asians (Pew Research Center 2016b), but translating this generalization to local job needs is difficult. Schools and after-school programs, vocational training centers, nonprofit organizations, and community-based centers and churches have real-time information about the overall employment needs of a community. They can identify what training programs have worked, where schools have succeeded or failed, and (sometimes) why. Planners should connect with these community resources.

Having a physical presence in a community is necessary for any planner wanting to work effectively with communities of color, especially when working across ethnicity and race. This is how a planner knows if there are groups of able-bodied

ied adults congregating during workday hours, signaling a lack of jobs and other economic opportunities; which (if any) companies are operating in the area that can provide jobs to residents; and whether day care centers and after-school programs with transit access are operating in the community, enabling parents to maintain employment. Spending time in a community will let planners know if unlicensed street vendors are walking through neighborhoods or setting up at parks, or if there are day labor gathering spots near hardware stores and on street corners. Building first-hand relationships with nonprofits and community-based organizations will provide on-the-ground knowledge not contained in data banks. Once planners are familiar with the levels and types of economic need in their communities and how these needs have or have not been filled, they will be better equipped to identify ways to expand economic opportunity for the people of color in their jurisdictions.

Job Training and Development

Some communities of color have higher rates of incomplete education, resulting in a wide range of needs for job training programs. For the 2014–2015 school year, national graduation rates were 72 percent for American Indian/Alaska Natives (AIANs), 76 percent for African Americans, 79 percent for Latinos, 88 percent for whites, and 91 percent for Asians (U.S. Department of Education 2018). Economic status also plays a role. In that same time frame, only 76 percent of low-income 12th-grade students of any race or ethnicity graduated from high school—and these rates may be overstated because Latinos, African Americans, AIANs, and low-income students are less likely to be included in the starting cohort measured (Governing 2018).

Having found little success in primary or secondary education, such students are especially in need of other options. Community colleges, vocational schools, job-training programs, and other development programs are key resources for building English language proficiency, job skills, and business ownership skills among people of color. Planners wanting to build community well-being from the bottom up must work to engage and support local community resources.

One source of support is Community Economic Development (CED), a U.S. Department of Health and Human Services grant program aimed at supporting job and business development in low-income areas (USDHHS OCS 2017). CED works through nonprofit community development corporations (CDCs). CDCs can direct funds to low-income individuals and small businesses creating jobs in low-income areas for investment in many areas of business development, from

start-ups to expansion in areas such as incubator opportunities, manufacturing and agricultural production, and retail.

Also useful are community benefits agreements (CBAs) and community benefits policies (CBPs). CBAs are project-specific, legally binding agreements made between communities and developers to ensure that development standards and outcomes are as fair for communities as they are for developers (Partnership for Working Families 2015). CBPs are policies adopted by municipalities that more broadly establish expectations for community benefits with development. Both help to change development paradigms when and where they are used. Benefits to communities include early involvement in development projects, commitments from developers to pay better wages to local employees, greater inclusion of local workforces in development projects, and long-term outcomes that consider local low-income community needs. Benefits to developers include the establishment of positive communication between communities and developers early in development processes, stronger support by local communities and organizations throughout the development process to save developers time and money, and opportunities to benefit local individuals and communities.

Entrepreneurialism and Self-Employment

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), about one in 10 workers were self-employed in 2015 (Hipple and Hammond 2016). However, concerns about legal status, lack of basic skills or training, language barriers, and other reasons may mean there are higher self-employment rates for people of color than those reported by the BLS. Indeed, a 2017 report found that foreign-born immigrants are twice as likely



Figure 5.1. Sidewalk vending in Los Angeles (Andrea Garfinkel-Castro)



Figure 5.2. Right-of-way yard sales in Queens, New York (left) and Phoenix (right) (Andrea Garfinkel-Castro)

to start a business as native-born Americans (Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation 2017).

Three practices in particular—street vending and food trucks, home-based businesses, and day labor and gig economy jobs—are usual practices among certain communities of color where self-employment and the combining of several part-time jobs are indispensable ways of earning primary and supplemental income. These entrepreneurial efforts are often restricted or prohibited, however, by zoning and other regulations, leaving individuals vulnerable to the disciplinary actions of the law, with far-reaching negative consequences for themselves and their families.

Planners can directly and positively impact these practices by working toward lowering restrictions without compromising public health or safety. Planners can also work with city managers and commerce departments to streamline permitting processes and reduce licensing costs and requirements. In doing so, planners help promote economic diversity through advocacy and education.

Street Vending and Food Trucks

Street vending has been a part of urban America for centuries, albeit with varying levels of acceptance and tolerance (Tester et al. 2010). Street vending can be mobile or fixed in a location; depending on the means of vending, it might be both—mobile at times and stopped for prolonged periods at a fixed spot. Mobile vendors use a variety of devices, including food trucks, food carts, pushcarts, and other adapted devices such as pick-up truck beds, car trunks, baby strollers, shopping carts, or walkers (Figure 5.1, p. 78). Some vendors use fixed but not necessarily permanent locations, such as sidewalks, front yards, carports, garages, and vacant

rights-of-way (Figure 5.2). Sidewalk vendors have especially small footprints, often using small pushcarts, tables, blankets, cloth, or cardboard to define their vending space and display their goods.

Parks, sports facilities, schools, and activity “hot spots” such as farmers markets, nightclubs, and special events are effective places for all types of vending. Ready-to-eat food items as well as products such as fruit and eggs are among the most popular goods sold, but nonconsumables, such as hats, t-shirts, CDs, toys, and souvenirs are also popular.

Food carts are a particularly common form of street vending, especially in neighborhoods that predominantly house immigrants and people of color, for good reason—street vending helps fill employment and income gaps from seasonal or part-time work by providing low-cost access to entrepreneurship. There are few skill-based barriers to the informal street vending operator, making this a natural employment opportunity for newly arrived immigrants. These qualities, along with a sense of independence, relaxed work hours, cultural relevance, and high social contact, are some of the reasons vendors stay tied to the activity over the long term (Browne, Dominie, and Mayerson 2014; Rojas 2014). Cities are discovering that street vending attracts tourists and may reduce government expenses by providing jobs to those who might otherwise depend on public services or turn to crime (WIEGO 2018). The sidebar on p. 80 describes how Portland, Oregon, has embraced food carts and the vibrancy and character they bring to the community.

Food trucks are a unique form of street vending. They are essentially kitchens on wheels, and as such are more heavily regulated. While they typically cost more to set up and maintain than other types of street vending devices, they are

FOOD CARTS IN PORTLAND, OREGON

By Tam J. Guy, Department of Urban Planning, Luskin School of Public Affairs, University of California–Los Angeles

Less than a decade ago, Portland, Oregon, kicked off a new chapter in its long-standing support for public vending with the first large-scale cluster of food carts—known in Portland as “pods” —using trailers parked on privately owned lots (Browne et al. 2014). A confluence of economic, social, and political factors led to the development of these pods and their continuing place in the urban fabric of Portland.

The first key feature of Portland’s pods is that they are sited on private property. Food carts in the public rights-of-way fall under a different set of policies, which address areas such as siting, design guidelines, hours of operation, movement requirements, and higher fees.

The licensing, fees, and regulations for food carts and pods protect public health without stifling new businesses (Kapell et al. 2008). City fees are low relative to those for brick-and-mortar restaurant spaces, helping to keep startup costs low. As in many other places, the county regulates food-serving establishments. Likewise, the city (or county) requires utility licenses and fees if and

when applicable, such as for the use of propane, electrical connections, or plumbing. Additional key differences, however, make special allowances for Portland’s cart pods: Food carts on private property may stay in place; they may prepare food on site, dependent on their license category; and they are not restricted to specific foods, such as serving only hot dogs.

An interrelated underlying policy is the definition of a “mobile unit” in Oregon state law, which relates to city regulations allowing food carts on private property to stay parked for long periods of time. As long as a food cart has an axle with wheels, it is ostensibly mobile. This explains the propensity for trailer-based forms in the pods. Staying in one place reduces business costs for daily set-up time, fuel, and overnight storage space. Also, staying put adds to a sense of place and stability for the neighborhood.

On-site food preparation lowers the barriers to entry for a wide spectrum of entrepreneurs. It can reduce costs, such as those associated with renting space at a commercial kitchen, transport time,

and set-up and take-down time. Many carts do still rent preparation space, but this has become easier as the industry has expanded to support the growing number of individual vendors.

Allowing a diversity of foods also creates the possibility of pods with a variety of taste profiles. The proportion of people of color and foreign-born owners is higher among food cart establishments than the general business and population demographics of Portland (Agyeman, Matthews, and Sobel 2017). Sometimes, as with the Portland Mercado—a Latin-style open food market—the diversity of food cart ownership creates an opportunity for a pod to be a place to celebrate culture and community. Always, food pods provide a chance to catch a meal on-the-go while people are out and about in their daily lives (Figure 5.3).

Portland may be known for “keeping it weird,” but sharing food across cultures to build community is not an unfamiliar concept. By respecting private property owners’ wishes to provide space for small food businesses, keeping licensing and fees reasonable, allowing food carts to stay put, regulating the safety of food prepared on site, and celebrating a diversity of food, Portland enjoys a thriving food cart culture. Thankfully, the magic of the food cart pods of Portland isn’t a secret sauce. It’s simply a set of straightforward policies.



Figure 5.3. A food pod in Portland's central business district (Flickr photo/John Dalton (CC BY-SA 2.0))

also far less costly than brick-and-mortar restaurants, making them an important point of entry into the food industry for people of color and recent immigrants.

The type and quality of food offered by food trucks has undergone change in recent decades. Those offering basic menus are still operating, but food trucks with catchy names, gourmet menus, niche foods, and fusion cuisine are now widespread (Ninan and Marsh 2013). They broadcast their current locations via social media, frequenting upscale areas, especially during evenings and to enhance events and entertainment. These new brands of food trucks, along with the more traditional types, are increasingly leveraged by cities to enliven public places and boost tourism.

Offsetting the benefits of street vending are undeniable challenges for vendors as well as cities and neighborhoods. Street vendors must compete for space on streets and sidewalks and risk potential harassment by law enforcement (particularly regarding immigration status and licensing compliance). Vulnerability to theft, anti-immigrant sentiment, and even violence are everyday concerns for street vendors. Logistical challenges to vendors include language barriers, lack of resources, complex and unfamiliar bureaucratic processes, and municipal codes and ordinances that restrict or prohibit street vending.

Support for street vending is not universal or automatic. Some see the use (or appropriation) of public space as intrusive or a violation of shared rights. Some cities find that street vending contributes to traffic congestion, placing drivers and pedestrians at added risk. Other concerns include increased potential for criminal activity and excess trash (WIEGO 2018). Vending without proper authorization or in unlawful locations, even when benign, violates regulations, consuming precious municipal funds to address and to enforce. Neighborhoods may oppose street vending because they wish to preserve a certain quality of life, including peace and quiet. Another common concern is that street vendors pose a competitive threat to brick-and-mortar businesses. Restaurant owners, in particular, may ask that vendors be restricted by proximity and hours of operation. These are all legitimate concerns and street vending is not necessarily the right activity to allow everywhere. But despite these concerns and the many risks and barriers, street vending remains a viable and positive urban economic activity for many individuals.

Over the last several decades, cities of all sizes have seen newfound enthusiasm for street vending following a precipitous drop in this activity during the middle of the 20th century; however, some cities are responding by enforcing stricter regulations (Browne, Dominie, and Mayerson 2014). There is

also evidence that cities and neighborhoods are using concern about street vending as a veiled form of biased exclusion (Harwood 2012). Planners can provide leadership in addressing concerns through education and informing the development of reasonable and fair regulations for street vending in appropriate places and circumstances. For example, the claim that street vendors unfairly compete with brick-and-mortar businesses is disputed and unsupported by research (Frommer et al. 2011). Planners can provide business owners with examples where the successful coexistence of both types of businesses benefits everyone, and they can work to ensure that street vending is a well-regulated practice.

Planners can also support street vending even within an environment of stricter regulation by understanding the many ways vending is carried out, particularly by people of color, and working to minimize and streamline regulating

TABLE 5.1. TYPES OF REGULATIONS FOR STREET VENDORS AND FOOD TRUCK VENDORS

	MUNICIPAL	COUNTY/ STATE
Licensing and Permitting—city-controlled and determined, including limits on numbers issued and/or waiting periods; number of vendors specific to location/event	✓	
Locational—neighborhoods and public space, zoning; restrictions may relate to traffic congestion, obstruction of doors and windows, distances from certain business/institutions or other vendors	✓	
Temporal—days/hours of operation; duration in same location; specific events, e.g., farmers markets, sports or cultural events	✓	
Logistical—ADA access; street vendor footprint limits; aesthetics and condition/types of devices; amenities, e.g., shade and seating; waste management; food truck maintenance; storage during nonoperational hours.	✓	
Food Handling—preparation, storage, and dispensing standards; kitchen standards; inspections		✓

Source: Andrea Garfinkel-Castro

policies where they have jurisdiction. As shown in Table 5.1 (p. 81), local ordinances typically regulate the where, when, what, and how of vending, while county and state laws regulate the health and safety of consumables (Tester et al. 2010). Planners with a good depth of knowledge about street vending will be well-positioned to contribute objectively to (and temper) the development of fair and balanced regulation.

To help support street vending and food trucks in diverse communities, planners can:

- Review local zoning and licensing provisions for street vending and propose amendments to overly restrictive regulations.
- Reach out to street vendors and food truck operators to determine major regulatory, economic, logistical, or other barriers, and to help bridge gaps across local constituent groups.
- Document or track street vendor and food truck activity to support its importance as an economic development tool.
- Develop user-friendly guidance documents for street vending and food trucks, including translated versions in relevant languages, to help immigrants and people of color navigate regulations and standards.
- Develop outreach tools that promote appropriately located and well-regulated street vending and food trucks to the city at large and to inform business groups of their value.

Home-Based Businesses

Home-based businesses and workshops are a time-honored tradition in North America. The 17th-century “putting out system” provided home-based employment to many families

in preindustrial America (Montgomery 1968). Dating back even further, archaeologists have found evidence of similar production practices throughout ancient Mesoamerica (today’s central Mexico) (Diehl 1983). The development of web-based commerce and telecommuting has helped bring this longstanding practice back into vogue after a long hiatus (Feldman and Gainey 1997). Half of all small businesses (20 or fewer employees) in the United States are home based (U.S. SBA 2017).

Home-based businesses have always been popular among immigrants and people of color. They provide important goods and services to residents of neighborhoods within a walkable distance, which is especially important in neighborhoods poorly served by transit. A walk through almost any ethnic neighborhood in the United States reveals what might be missed during a drive-through survey: small, often homemade signs announcing the sale of basic goods, including homemade foods and homegrown produce, and skilled services such as hair cutting and public notary (Figure 5.4). Locally owned and operated by community members, these businesses fill important cultural and language gaps. Embedded within communities, these businesses rely on foot traffic, proximity to their markets, and word-of-mouth references, even in the age of social media and electronic mapping.

Small-scale home-based businesses deliver important benefits to owners, including lower startup costs, few or no regulatory barriers or documentation requirements, and opportunities to use personal skills to produce goods and provide professional services. These businesses also employ individuals who might not otherwise be employable due to a variety of reasons, including legal status, language skills,



Figure 5.4. Home-based businesses (ladies’ dressmaker, left, and public notary, right) in Phoenix (Andrea Garfinkel-Castro)

caretaker responsibilities, or mobility challenges (e.g., poor access to transit service or no car or driver's license). They allow for income generation within a flexible setting.

Like street vending, however, home-based businesses are not universally welcome. Neighborhood residents may have concerns about traffic congestion, excessive parking, and noise and other unwanted externalities that may disrupt their quality of life. The degree of disruption or visibility of a home-based business is dependent on the type of business in operation, however. White-collar businesses with little foot traffic, few or no materials deliveries, and no production by-products are more likely to be welcome than day care centers or small manufacturing operations.

Regardless of their type and despite their prevalence and importance to the national economy, home-based businesses are often listed as prohibited uses in single-family neighborhoods. Overly restrictive regulations have disproportionately negative impacts on small home-based businesses (Beale 2004). Zoning is one of the greatest regulatory challenges facing proprietors of home-based businesses, particularly for immigrants and people of color who rely on signage to attract customers. Immigrants and people of color who open home-based businesses put themselves at financial and legal risk. These concerns can be overcome by well-crafted and consistently enforced regulation that allow home-based businesses to operate discreetly and safely.

To help support home-based businesses, planners can:

- Develop plans for transitioning to flexible or mixed use zoning in residential neighborhoods to allow for home-based businesses.
- Propose zoning standards that support home-based businesses while maintaining quality of life in residential neighborhoods, including provisions that address signage, restrictions on hours of operation, and reduced parking requirements.
- Become familiar with where home-based businesses are located—but not allowed—to determine where zoning changes might benefit neighborhoods.
- Open dialogues with communities of color to become familiar with their interests in neighborhood- and home-based businesses and mixed use zoning.
- Develop materials and conduct outreach to the local business community to encourage support of home-based businesses in diverse communities.
- Work with licensing divisions within their municipalities to ensure access to business licenses for those with fewer resources or language barriers.

Day Labor and the Gig Economy

Day labor is a niche within the labor market that is defined by a lack of contracts; an absence of enforcement of worker protections; nonpayment of taxes and workers' compensation; and, historically, manual labor (Valenzuela 2014; Harwood 2012).

Alongside day labor in this same genre is the "gig economy." This economic sector, which emerged following the onset of the Great Recession, encompasses a wide range of skills from housecleaning and caretaking to delivery truck driving, web design, and computer programming. Similar to traditional day labor work, gig jobs are short-term and flexible; regulatory protections are limited and do not provide for overtime pay; and contracts—if they exist—offer few if any benefits to workers (Dokko, Mumford, and Schanzenbach 2015; Friedman 2014).

Day laborers and gig workers represent a diverse segment of the population. The typical day laborer is most often a recently arrived immigrant, while a gig worker may be a person of color, an immigrant, a young female student, a white male millennial web designer, or a semiretired plumber (Dokko, Mumford, and Schanzenbach 2015; Friedman 2014). Pay for these jobs can vary from minimum wage paid in cash on a daily basis to a lump-sum contract payment based on an above-average hourly wage and many variations in between, including barter.

Both day labor and the gig economy offer benefits and risks for employers as well as for workers, as summarized in Table 5.2 (p. 84). Often, the same condition that results in benefits can result in as many risks or downsides. For example, having workers on payroll only when they are needed can reduce expenses for employers but can also leave them vulnerable if workers are not available when needed. For employees, intermittent work may fill gaps or pay higher hourly rates but may create financial instability by being unpredictable. Day labor and gig work tend to benefit employers more than employees, mainly because of the inherent unpredictability and weak legal standing for workers. The sidebar on p. 85 by Alvaro Huerta describes some additional considerations for planners regarding day laborers and other underrepresented immigrant workers.

Gig workers typically obtain employment remotely, using the internet or phone. Planners have limited ability to either support or intervene in this labor market but should nonetheless be aware of the presence of gig workers and their impacts on the local economy.

In contrast, day labor typically has a physical presence in communities, and planners can play an active role in addressing hiring locations. Most day labor hiring takes place in one

TABLE 5.2. BENEFITS AND RISKS OF DAY LABOR AND THE GIG ECONOMY

	Benefits	Risks
Employers	Reductions in overhead costs associated with tax and social security payments and employee benefits	
	Circumvention of regulatory oversight by organizations such as the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)	Unsafe or unhealthy work environments due to lack of oversight by regulators such as OSHA (whether intentional or unintentional)
	Freedom from organized workers' legal actions	A workforce lacking in cohesion or loyalty
	Better alignment of hiring with real-time labor needs to follow the peaks and valleys of labor demands	Uncertainty about workers' basic and skilled abilities
	Elimination of probationary periods and training expectations	
Employees	Ability to fill employment gaps quickly and with minimal institutional red tape	Unsafe or unhealthy work conditions
	Ability to find employment despite a lack of documentation, language barriers, or a history of employment gaps	Weak legal standing, which may lead to underpayment or nonpayment by unscrupulous employers
	Opportunity to engage in a wider range of job experiences by piecing together different gigs	Lack of income certainty
	Ability to experiment with (or break into) new occupations	Employment instability or impermanence and gaps in work history
	Chance to build entrepreneurial expertise	Worker-borne tax burdens, including payments into social security
	Contracting for higher hourly wages	Lack of employer-paid benefits, such as paid time off and health insurance
	Working shorter- or longer-than-usual hours to accommodate student or caretaking schedules as needed or preferred	Ongoing need to piece together short-term jobs

Source: Andrea Garfinkel-Castro

of two contexts: exposed or protected (Valenzuela 2014; Harwood 2012). Exposed sites are informal, unregulated pick-up sites such as street corners and edges of commercial parking lots (Figure 5.5). They normally lack signage and amenities, including water and access to toilets. Not much distinguishes them from other street corners, parking lots, or open spaces when they are unoccupied by laborers. Protected sites are labor or work centers initiated and operated by local social service organizations that aid workers; they replace exposed pick-up sites (Figure 5.6, p. 86). These centers can also help protect workers by setting minimum wages, distributing jobs equitably, and ensuring wage payment (Valenzuela 2014).

Some cities have chosen to regulate places identified as labor pick-up sites by establishing no-pick-up zones and no-loitering rules. Such disciplinary action is often initiated in response to complaints by residents and local businesses uncomfortable with groups of unfamiliar men standing and lingering at street corners and in parking lots. As with street vending, these punitive regulations may be rooted in thinly veiled bias. Protected sites can help ameliorate these concerns. In Laguna Beach, California, the city established a

voluntary hiring site in response to complaints about hiring taking place in public spaces (Harwood 2012). The city provided funding for the expansion of the site as its use grew, adding amenities like benches, portable restrooms, trash cans, and traffic safety features.



Figure 5.5. Exposed day labor site in parking lot (Daniel Shaffer)

ADVOCATING FOR THE IMMIGRANT DOMESTIC WORK FORCE: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PLANNERS

By Alvaro Huerta, PhD, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

As city and regional planners, we plan and build livable communities and regions for the public. But these plans often exclude the low-wage workers who carry out the domestic household services in mostly middle-class and affluent communities. This informal work force—comprising mostly Latino immigrants in California and beyond—has taken over the traditional household duties and responsibilities that many Americans assumed before World War II, when women regularly stayed home to care for their children and clean the house while men worked outdoors to “master” the front lawn of the archetypal suburban home.

Due to their limited English skills, educational backgrounds and financial capital, most recent immigrants seek low-wage jobs, which Americans have come to reject due to their low social status, dismal pay, and bleak opportunities. The immigrant domestic household economy encompasses housecleaners, paid gardeners, and, very often, day laborers. Most of these so-called immigrant jobs require intense manual labor and pose workplace dangers.

Despite lacking higher education, special training, and financial capital, many immigrant workers are sophisticated individuals who own and operate their own small businesses. Paid Latino gardeners, for example, regularly engage in complex entrepreneurial transactions such as expanding business operations, developing client routes, billing and receiving, and trading and selling goods and services with other small businesses. Apart from their business savvy and experience, paid Latino gardeners make communities greener, cleaner, safer, and more beautiful, help-

ing to increase property values. They also relieve middle-class and affluent individuals from performing time- and labor-intensive yard work.

These workers, however, are not well represented in the planning process. The transportation planning process, for example, commonly fails to provide adequate public transportation for nannies and housecleaners, who toil inside suburban homes and gated communities. Meanwhile, many immigrant workers lack the time, language skills, and educational background to have a voice in the formal planning process.

To meet the needs of this indispensable immigrant work force, planners should accommodate domestic household service workers when designing, creating, and redeveloping neighborhoods and communities. For example, do wealthy communities have access to public transportation for nannies and housecleaners?

In the spirit of the late planning theorist and leader Paul Davidoff, planners should resurrect the advocacy planning model and directly meet the needs of recent immigrants and racial minorities who lack the political clout and financial capital to defend themselves against unjust laws and policies. In the advocacy planning model, planners take on the roles of lawyers by working closely with immigrant and marginalized communities to meet their specific needs in city hall and beyond. To date, the planning profession has generally remained silent in challenging claims that recent immigrants are to blame for high crime rates, depleted social services, and increased poverty.

Planners should also be aware of any anti-immigrant connotations of lo-

cal public policy. One such example comes from Los Angeles, where in 1996 the city council voted 9 to 3 to ban leaf blowers in residential areas. The penalties for using this work device, operated mainly by Latino gardeners, included a misdemeanor charge, \$1,000 fine, and up to six months in jail. In response, Latino gardeners founded the Association of Latin American Gardeners of Los Angeles. Following countless protests, marches, press conferences, candlelight vigils, and a week-long hunger strike, the Latino gardeners eventually forced the city council to amend this law. While the affluent Westside residents who favored the ban focused on “public nuisance” aspects such as noise and air pollution, the Latino gardeners successfully reframed the issue as the “haves against the have-nots.” At the end of the day, the Latino gardeners prevailed in the court of public opinion.

When creating and advocating for better communities, planners should promote the roles of immigrant workers as part of this mission and work closely with policy makers and concerned community members to create alternative solutions for all parties, including the immigrant work force that takes on the most difficult and least respected jobs in America’s cities, suburbs, and rural areas. Planners, whose primary role is to serve the public interest, are the ideal people to speak on behalf of *los de abajo* (those on the bottom).



Figure 5.6. Protected day labor sites in Mesa, Arizona (left) and Phoenix (right) (Francisco Lara-Valencia)

The installation of protected sites can sometimes incite backlash and NIMBYism, however. In Seattle, an existing labor site serving Latino workers was relocated to a historically (but transitioning) Japanese neighborhood. Vocal opposition was expressed, but city-sponsored mediation helped identify and overcome objections. Neighbors wanted hiring to take place indoors rather than in public view, and this ultimately became an important element to the design and implementation of the labor center (Emerson and Hou 2012). This example highlights the importance of addressing conceptual issues along with practical and logistical issues.

To help support day labor, planners can:

- Find out what types of day labor activity are occurring in the area and become familiar with the workers and employers engaged in the day labor market.
- Identify exposed day labor pick-up sites in the area and work to learn what concerns local residents and workers may have—their concerns are likely to be different, contentious, and emotional.
- Identify protected sites or work centers in the area and become familiar with those running the sites and the communities they serve.
- Identify licensing or certification opportunities (e.g., handyman licenses) to improve the quality of work conditions for day laborers and instill greater confidence by employers.
- Develop relationships with community-based allies (and translators as needed) to enhance communication with the day labor population and to ease concerns about reporting to authorities.

ACTIVATING MOBILITY

Mobility is an essential component of the American lifestyle, providing access to education, employment, recreation, and basic goods and services, such as health care. Mobility has also been linked to equalizing opportunity (Fan, Guthrie, and Levinson 2012). Whether the context is urban, suburban, or rural, there is a constant need to get from one place to another. For low-income households, having good access to important destinations—jobs, education, and goods and services—must come at an affordable price or it is unattainable.

Two important measures of transportation are mobility and accessibility. *Mobility* refers to the speed and flow of movement. Anyone who has been stuck in stop-and-go traffic will appreciate the value of mobility and recognize its importance to our modern lifestyle. *Accessibility* refers to the ability to get from where you are to where you want to be.

Planners both recognize and debate the dominance of the automobile in our cities and the specific spatial demands of cars on the built environment (Gordon and Richardson 1997; Ewing 1997; Lang and LeFurgy 2007). For now, and into the foreseeable future, cars are an implicit component of our urban, suburban, and rural landscapes (Lang and LeFurgy 2007). Under normal conditions—low levels of congestion, temperate weather, and with the necessary infrastructure in place—and with adequate income, private vehicles offer both mobility and accessibility.

Despite the convenience of cars, 11 percent of the U.S. population regularly uses public transit. These riders are more likely to be low income, under the age of 50, live in or near a

large metropolitan area, and be a person of color (Anderson 2016). To better understand the transit needs of people of color and those who are low income, planners should distinguish between “transit-dependent” riders—those without reliable access to a car—and “choice riders”—those that have access to cars but choose to use transit. Access to private vehicles for transportation increases with income, making transit dependence highest among poor people of color (Lachapelle 2015).

For the transit dependent, a high level of service is achieved in two ways—through high frequency and high coverage. *Frequency* refers to how often transit arrives at stops and the length of operating time in a 24-hour period, while *coverage* refers to the location of transit routes relative to where people want and need them. Transportation planners struggle with balancing the cost of providing transit accessibility across frequency and coverage and deciding how funding should be split.

Transit funds also get divided along modal lines, primarily between light rail and buses. Research shows that a larger proportion of light rail riders are choice riders and the majority of bus riders are transit dependent. High levels of ridership and success have been found where systems integrate frequency with coverage, even when providing service across widely dispersed regional transit networks. Planners can address the transportation needs of low-income people of color by ensuring that mixed-modal systems are engineered to maximize the interface between bus and rail systems (Litman 2017; Brown and Thompson 2009; Currie and Wallis 2008).

The transit trips that matter most to transit-dependent riders are those between work and home (Fan, Guthrie, and Levinson 2012). When low-wage jobs are spatially mismatched to where low-wage workers live, which may especially be the case for low-income people of color, transportation challenges for these workers result. Such spatial mismatch, however, does not mean good transit access cannot be achieved. In Broward County, Florida, where low-density, sprawling development prevails, a 2004 study found transit ridership to be among the highest in the country (Thompson, Brown, and Bhattacharya 2012). Broward County’s success was attributed to its ability to get people from their homes to their jobs efficiently—these riders spent less time in transit and were better able to access good transit across a 24-hour period than their counterparts elsewhere.

U.S. cities, suburbs, and towns are designed to privilege those with access to cars. Those without such access are dependent on alternative forms of transportation such as transit (bus and rail), active transportation (walking, biking, and skating/scooter), or shared or hired vehicles (car sharing or

taxis). Not all of these forms of transit are widely available or affordable, and some are impractical for long distances. Low-income households, demographically more likely to be people of color, are especially mobility challenged due to the high cost of car ownership and typically low levels of transit service.

The demographic overlap between low-income populations and communities of color tell planners that mobility is cost dependent. A key focus for planners working with diverse communities should be supporting high-level-of-service, low-cost transportation. Three elements of mobility—car ownership, transit, and active transportation—provide people with daily access to important destinations. Planners can use policy and practice tools in these three areas to help activate mobility in communities of color.

Car Ownership

For many low-income households, owning a new, safe, and energy-efficient car is out of reach (Giuliano 2005). Instead, car-based mobility is often achieved through the ownership and use of substandard cars (Pendall, Blumenberg, and Dawkins 2016). These cars are typically older, in constant need of repair, more likely to be highly polluting, and lack current safety features. For very low-income households, access even to substandard cars is unattainable. Persistent lack of access to a working car means that these households must rely on public and active transportation, which may be unreliable or insufficient, resulting in missed opportunities and uneven attendance at work, school, or appointments.

Planners can address the escalating costs of auto ownership by advocating for programs that assist low-income car owners. Car ownership assistance programs are one way to improve overall mobility for low-income households (Pendall, Blumenberg, and Dawkins 2016). Some home lenders account for the high costs of car transportation by offering “transit-supportive” home loans in transit-oriented development (TOD) neighborhoods, giving prospective home buyers credit for using transit rather than driving a car (Krizek 2003).

Car-sharing programs offer very short-term car rentals (by the hour rather than by the day) that provide targeted access to automobiles for shopping trips, short out-of-town trips, or specific events (Shaheen, Cohen, and Martin 2010). Rather than using centrally located lots, car-share programs typically park vehicles throughout residential neighborhoods where access is (ideally) a short walk away. A recent study of car sharing in New York City—the largest car-share city in the country by far—found that low-income neighborhoods access car-share vehicles at the same rate as higher-income neighborhoods, with the caveat that this is only true

if rental prices are affordable to the low-income neighborhoods (Kim 2015). An electric vehicle car-share program in Los Angeles tackles the additional problem of poor air quality in low-income neighborhoods (Spector 2015).

Keeping older cars running safely and cleanly is also important to maintaining mobility for low-income households. Garage and workshop space for car repairs can be a challenge, especially for those living in apartments or neighborhoods that prohibit on-site car repairs. Shared space that can be rented, tool-sharing or tool-loan programs, and vocational programs that assist low-income households with car maintenance and repairs support more than just mobility—they also support the access to jobs, educational opportunities, and health care access that mobility provides.

To help people of color in low-income households gain mobility through car ownership and use, planners can:

- Act as bridges between low-income communities and organizations that provide car ownership assistance.
- Learn about, advocate for, and help broker transit-supportive home loans to increase access for low-income households into TOD neighborhoods
- Help plan, promote, and implement car-sharing programs, especially in low-income neighborhoods and around transit stations and bus stops, ensuring equity by advocating for adjusted rates for low-income households and offering outreach that engages the local community.
- Support shared spaces and tool-share programs that provide car repair space and tools to help low-income communities of color repair and maintain their vehicles.
- Work with local community colleges and tech schools to provide low-cost repair and maintenance clinics to keep older cars operable, safe, and clean.

Transit

Affordable transportation often means reliance on public transit—buses and light rail—for low-income communities of color. Bus fares are typically lower than rail or trolley fares, and some cities have free-fare zones and lower rates for special classes of riders, such as the disabled or elderly. However, the greatest cost to transit-dependent riders is the time cost. Unless a transit system is designed to provide both high-frequency service and high coverage, riders will pay a disproportionately high time cost for using public transit.

Planners working with diverse communities, especially those with low-income households, can best learn about local transit service by riding local buses and standing at bus stops and shelters. This is how to learn if buses arrive on

time, if bus stops are safe, if bus shelters are comfortable (if they exist), and if lighting is adequate for safety and comfort.

Planners should also get familiar with “first-mile” and “last-mile” conditions in these neighborhoods—the distances between transit stations or bus stops and trip origins and destinations. Active transportation modes (most often, walking and bicycling) are often used to cover these distances. There may be conditions in the neighborhood that transit riders face during first- and last-mile trips that prevent better use of public transit but can only be discovered by on-the-ground observation.

To help low-income communities of color gain mobility through transit, planners can work with local and regional transit districts to:

- Conduct an audit of transit amenities in diverse communities, especially in areas where low-income households live and work, including transit stations and bus stops, shelter quality, lighting, and first- and last-mile infrastructure conditions such as sidewalks, intersection controls, and pedestrian crosswalks.
- Use the transit amenities audit to identify where to advocate and plan for better infrastructure and amenities.
- Review levels of service in neighborhoods of people of color using analyses that consider all transportation modes holistically.
- Maximize equity by balancing rail with bus service and extending coverage of both systems toward multiple destination points.
- Initiate and assist with surveys of low-income riders to ensure that their transportation needs are being met.
- Ensure excellent coverage and frequency of home-to-job routes for low-income neighborhoods by working to provide up-to-date demographic and employment data.
- Implement adjusted-rate fares for low-income households.
- Identify locations of key goods and services (e.g., grocery stores, clinics and hospitals, and social services) to ensure excellent coverage and frequency on routes between these locations and low-income neighborhoods.
- Ensure that park-and-ride facilities are equitably distributed across neighborhoods of all income levels.

Active Transportation

Active transportation usually refers to walking or biking and is inherently the most affordable form of transportation in terms of direct costs. Walking is not only the oldest form of human mobility, it is the most affordable. Bicycling is low cost relative to automobile use and is considerably more ef-

ficient than walking, allowing travel over greater distances in a shorter time than walking. In heavily congested traffic, bicycling can be faster and more efficient than driving. Scooters, skateboards, hoverboards, and Segways are additional forms of active transit.

Limiting the use of active transportation are human factors (e.g., being very young or very old, or being mobility or sensory challenged) and environmental factors (e.g., extremely hot, cold, or windy weather; steep terrain; or a lack of infrastructure). Equipment modifications, such as three-wheeled cycles, can assist in overcoming some barriers but they do so at a cost.

Shared-mobility programs for bicycles and scooters have grown in popularity and implementation in recent years but may be associated with gentrification—either actively occurring or impending. Countering the displacement of existing communities caused by gentrification necessarily involves keeping costs of living low, including costs associated with transportation. Planners should ensure that bike-share programs address social equity to help improve mobility options for low-income residents who may also be people of color (Griffin 2017; Griffin and Sener 2016). Social equity is central to bike-share programs in New York City and San Francisco, which aim to make bicycles available to and affordable for low-income individuals (Figure 5.7). These cities locate bike-sharing programs in low-income neighborhoods and have options that allow for cash rather than credit card transactions.

To help low-income households of color mobilize active modes of transportation, planners can:

- Conduct walkability audits and other surveys to determine the quality of active transportation environments, focusing on diverse low-income neighborhoods.
- Plan, promote, and implement sidewalks and bicycle lanes, especially in diverse low-income neighborhoods and around transit stations and bus stops.
- Plan, promote, and implement bike-sharing programs, especially in diverse low-income neighborhoods and around transit stations and bus stops; ensure equity by providing payment stations that accept cash, adjusted rates for low-income households, and offering outreach that engages the community.

SUPPORTING HOUSING OPTIONS

Housing is a universal need. Home ownership has been a component of the American Dream for decades (Samuel

Bike Share for All

Ford GoBike offers all residents of the Bay Area an affordable, accessible and fun new transportation option.



Bike Share for All provides a one-time \$5 annual membership for qualifying residents. The program also includes a cash payment option for those who do not have a debit or credit card.

Bike Share for All program features

- One-time \$5 Annual Membership (\$5/month in second year)
- Bikes available 24/7/365 in San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Emeryville and San Jose
- Membership includes first 60 minutes of each trip
- Rides longer than 60 minutes will result in additional fees of \$3 for each additional 15 minutes or potential account suspension
- In-person enrollment at select locations (locations below)
- No credit or debit card required
- Clipper card compatible

Eligibility

Bike Share for All is available to Bay Area residents ages 18 and older who qualify for CalFresh, SFMTA (Low Income) Lifeline Passes or PG&E CARE utility discount.

[Sign Up Now](#)

Figure 5.7. San Francisco's Ford GoBike program offers special membership options for low-income residents (www.fordgobike.com/pricing/bikeshareforall)

2012), yet many immigrants and people of color struggle to remain adequately, affordably, and stably housed. APA's *Policy Guide on Housing* (2006) argues that housing is fundamental to functional communities, and that "[p]lanners have a key role to play in supporting informed decision making that creates housing options for all people." Planners are ethically responsible for serving the needs of underrepresented and disadvantaged communities (APA 1992, 2016), though they may need to be reminded of this ethical duty in regard to housing.

Achieving the dual characteristics of affordability and accessibility is fundamental to meeting the housing needs of communities of color. Housing that costs 30 percent or less of total household income is the current federal guideline for affordability; those who pay more are "cost burdened" (HUD

PD&R 2017). Finding ways to mitigate housing cost burdens and increase access to quality housing is an important agenda for many planners, and one with a long legacy—poor housing conditions was one of the primary drivers of the emergence of city planning (Hall 1989). Despite the sincere and focused attention of planners and community developers, however, cities across the country are experiencing spiking housing costs and new increases in homelessness.

People of color are disproportionately impacted by the lack of affordable and accessible housing. According to a recent national report, nearly 75 percent of those experiencing homelessness were people of color (Henry et al. 2017). The affordability of both rental and ownership housing remains a significant challenge for people of color, given the high rates of poverty and low incomes among these communities. For low-income households, the lower initial costs of rental housing are raised by the potential risks of rising rents, indirect costs due to poor maintenance or high utility bills, and forced moves. Ownership housing builds family wealth and can provide stability but is less attainable and accessible for people of color, as discussed in Chapter 2.

In addition to affordable and accessible options, people of color and immigrants may also seek housing that is adaptable to a wider range of living arrangements and uses. People of color are more likely to live in households that are multigenerational or multifamily (Taylor et al. 2010). Currently, one in five American households are multigenerational, the highest rate since 1950 (Cohn and Passel 2018; Abu Ghazaleh et al. 2011). This growing inclination towards multigenerational living is unevenly distributed across different groups, with higher rates among nonwhites (Winick and Jaffe 2015; Taylor et al. 2010). Specifically, the rate for Asians is 29 percent, for Latinos 27 percent, and for African Americans 26 percent, in contrast to a 16 percent rate for whites (Cohn and Passel 2018).

Multigenerational households form for a number of reasons, such as to ameliorate economic difficulties, to carry out responsibilities for child or elder care, or to allow adult children to afford additional education or embark on new careers. Culturally, communities of color are more likely to see multigenerational living as the norm (Pader 2002; Myers, Baer, and Choi 1996), as reflected in the rates reported above. The trend toward multigenerational households is therefore likely to increase as the number of diverse households increases nationwide.

Planners working with diverse communities will find limited data on certain housing issues. For example, measuring housing's condition by its age depends on the quality of initial construction and the ability of its owner(s) to maintain

the structure. Neighborhood walks may be the only way to assess the local housing stock; walks will also reveal self-built accessory dwelling units (ADUs). The number of cars parked in the driveways and front yards of residences and along the street can sometimes (but not always) help to estimate the number of occupants within.

As private space, housing can be very personal, and people may be reluctant to discuss their housing concerns or needs with those they do not know or trust. Establishing trust and conveying genuine concerns will likely be a preliminary step that will need to be taken by planners working with communities of color. As in all cases, planners must take an on-the-ground approach, getting into neighborhoods and becoming known to the local community and its advocates and champions.

Communities of color have a substantial need for planners who will work with them to expand the amount of affordable, accessible, and adaptable housing available to diverse households. The disproportionate number of people of color among the homeless population indicates not only the need but the urgency. The following sections describe a range of specific planning tools that support affordable and accessible housing and how these tools are likely to be effective for addressing housing issues in diverse communities.

Housing Affordability

The mantra of housing developers and realtors is “location, location, location,” for good reason. Housing location determines a wide range of indirect but related costs of living. Household transportation costs to reach basic goods and services, including jobs, education, groceries, medical care, and other social services, will be higher or lower depending on where one lives. Access to good education, services, and quality food products is more difficult in low-income neighborhoods, where the majority of low-cost housing is located and where people of color live in disproportionately high numbers.

There is a long history of pushing communities of color into marginalized areas, including those outside city limits where public services may be limited or unobtainable (Rothstein 2017; Irazábal 2012; Diaz 2012; Bolin, Grineski, and Collins 2005). Housing located in areas prone to human-caused risks (such as toxic leaks or poor air quality) or natural disasters (such as flooding) may be lower cost, but it is more likely to result in higher medical care costs for residents or the need for sudden and costly relocation.

As important as location is, other factors, such as housing age and condition, affect affordability. Older, lower-cost housing often costs more per square foot to heat and cool

due to aging building components (such as single-pane windows) and appliances (such as water heaters). Cutting back on heating or cooling to reduce utility costs is a common practice in low-income households but can be life-threatening in extreme weather.

Likewise, older for-sale housing may initially be more affordable but is more likely to need repairs and updates, a significant and overlooked cost of housing. Owners may defer maintenance on older, potentially life-threatening equipment (such as natural gas heaters that can cause carbon monoxide poisoning). Low-income households may have no option but to rent substandard housing where maintenance is needed or has been deferred, potentially placing themselves at risk.

Low-income households make carefully calculated decisions about trade-offs in housing. They may consciously sacrifice quantity—such as the number of bedrooms or square footage—in exchange for a better location closer to good schools or jobs. Or they may sacrifice quality—such as housing condition or amenities, including efficient heating or air conditioning—in exchange for a larger home. Housing cost burdens also lead to cutting back on other basic cost-of-living expenses, such as health care or prescription costs, at the risk of endangering household members' health. These types of

decisions can have detrimental effects on residents, including missed opportunities in employment and education, social isolation, hunger, and even death. Very young children, the elderly, and the health-compromised are especially at risk.

Planners have an important role to play in supporting housing development for the communities they work with. The tools are many but finding the right one for the specific situation takes a good working knowledge of the available tools and the local contexts. Strategies discussed below include low-income home owner assistance programs, Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) programs, inclusionary zoning, housing trust funds, community land trusts, and cohousing.

In addition to crafting specific tools to support, subsidize, and encourage affordable housing development, the federal government has emphasized the dispersal of low-income households and renters (Dawkins 2011). While concentrated poverty does not enhance quality of life, valuable social networks can be disrupted and decoupled when low-income households are forced to move from their existing neighborhoods. Planners should seek to understand the importance of social networks for communities of color, immigrants, and low-income households and take these into consideration when reviewing affordable housing projects.

Upgrading and Repairing Older Housing

Homeownership offers many benefits to homeowners and their communities, including housing and economic security, social mobility, inheritable wealth, increased self-esteem and sense of well-being, and community engagement (Woolf et al. 2015; Herbert, McCue, and Sanchez-Moyano 2013; Sha-



Figure 5.8. Homes may fall into disrepair when homeowners cannot afford upkeep, as has happened in Detroit (Flickr photos/Jeffrey Smith (CC BY-ND 2.0), Stan Wiechers (CC BY-SA 2.0))

piro 2006; Rossi and Weber 1996). For low-income homeowners, many of whom are people of color and immigrants, affordability is often found in housing that is smaller, older, and in need of maintenance or repairs. A common misconception is that such housing is in poor repair due to a lack of concern about appearances or a lack of understanding about how to maintain properties (Satter 2009). More often, these owners have to decide between mortgage payments and needed home repairs, knowing that deferred maintenance can lead to health and safety risks for occupants, an unkempt appearance, further deterioration of the structure, and a loss in home value (Figure 5.8, p. 91).

Several government-funded programs help low-income homeowners make needed repairs through grants and no- or low-interest loans. Some of these programs target specific demographic groups, such as veterans, seniors, Native Americans, and rural residents (USA.gov 2018). Other programs focus on specific types of updates or maintenance, such as weatherization, roof repair and replacement, and exterior improvements; some local programs offer support for interior work as well. In the city of Ogden, Utah, the Home Exterior Loan Program offers low-interest loans to low-income homeowners. Eligible repair or replacement work includes roofing, windows, doors, and porch repairs and painting (Ogden 2018).

In addition to improving the quality of life, health, and safety of low-income homeowners, these programs help these households hold on to and build personal wealth, a stronger measure of success and well-being than income, as discussed in Chapter 2. Programs that help individual homeowners of color maintain their wealth are also helping to build equity and social justice for communities of color. Planners can promote household and neighborhood stability, as well as social justice and equity, by supporting programs that assist homeowners in paying for home maintenance and repairs.

To help low-income people of color with upgrading and repairing older owner-occupied housing, planners can:

- Become familiar with and get to know the homeowners of color in the city and the neighborhoods where they live, and conduct housing condition audits to identify the types of repairs needed.
- Conduct research on available programs for assisting low-income homeowners with repairs and upkeep, especially searching out programs that assist homeowners of color.
- Match homeowners in need of assistance and homes in need of repairs with programs that provide grants or no- or low-interest loans.

- Conduct informational workshops in neighborhoods predominantly comprising homeowners of color, recruiting local community-based allies and translators as needed.
- Generate new resources at the local level, such as translated information and applications, dedicated personnel, new grant or loan programs, and regular outreach.

Low-Income Housing Tax Credits

The Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program is a federally funded, state-administered program that has helped produce more than three million affordable housing units for low-income households throughout the United States over the last 30 years (HUD PD&R 2018). Despite the process being both complex and lengthy, the LIHTC program has been among the most successful of all affordable housing programs developed by the federal government (Keightley 2018). The program specifically focuses on providing new or rehabilitated rental housing to low-income households.

Although the LIHTC program is administered at the state level, there are ample opportunities for local municipal planners to engage in, guide, and support its implementation. For example, city planners will review project submissions to ensure they conform to long-term housing and community development goals and community engagement requirements. Planners will also review projects to assess their anticipated design and construction quality as well as the impacts they are likely to have on neighborhoods, public infrastructure, and services (e.g., schools), traffic, parking, and public transit (Temple 2018).

Planners can help low-income people of color and immigrant households obtain affordable rental housing by advocating for LIHTC programs and projects. In doing so, planners should also critically review proposals to ensure developers maximize potential benefits and reach the most diverse populations possible. Housing that accommodates families with children is among the most needed and benefits multiple generations at one time.

To support Low Income Housing Tax Credit programs, planners can:

- Become well versed in how the LIHTC program works, how developers access credits, and how diverse communities can benefit.
- Scrutinize project submissions to ensure that projects are of high quality, fit the city's short- and long-term housing and community development goals, and have engaged local residents, including people of color and immigrants, in the design and planning processes.

Inclusionary Zoning

Inclusionary zoning (IZ) is a policy approach to affordable housing development that requires developers to allocate a percentage of the total units as affordable housing for a fixed period of time or, in some cases, permanently.

Within the basic model are important options. Some IZ policies allow developers to contribute funds in lieu of building affordable units, which are then used to support affordable housing in other locations and in other ways. Others allow the building of required affordable units in locations other than where the market-rate units are built. While this approach can result in new investment in underinvested neighborhoods, off-site IZ unit construction circumvents the benefit of creating mixed-income housing development and the increased access that low-income households gain by being located in areas with better resources and amenities (Tuller 2018).

Housing advocates and policy makers argue that IZ is an effective way to encourage the private sector to contribute to affordable housing production and add affordable units to market-rate development in higher-amenity neighborhoods. This can help increase the income and racial diversity of neighborhoods and combat the economic exclusion or isolation that often manifests itself in racially and ethnically segregated areas (Orfield 2006). Incentives in the form of density bonuses and fee reductions or waivers serve to encourage voluntary IZ unit production and mitigate the cost burden of mandatory policies.

Some local IZ policies are voluntary but most are now mandatory, supported by evidence that mandated IZ produces more affordable housing than voluntary programs (Tuller 2018). A comprehensive survey conducted in 2016 found 1,379 IZ programs in 373 jurisdictions, representing 24 states plus the District of Columbia and resulting in the development of almost 174,000 units (Thaden and Wang 2017).

Planners who have taken time to become familiar with the housing needs of local housing cost-burdened households in their city can contribute to the outcomes of IZ projects and policies. They can provide data such as household make-up (e.g., size, number of generations, age ranges), housing preferences, income levels, and transit and amenity needs to better match IZ policies and projects to local housing needs. Planners can also serve as liaisons between developers, public agencies, and local housing cost-burdened households.

To support inclusionary zoning policies, planners can:

- Work with policy makers and real estate developers to identify specific IZ policies that will support more affordable housing development in their jurisdictions.

- Ensure that policy makers and those crafting these programs have accurate information about local housing cost-burdened households and their housing needs by engaging with and becoming familiar with these communities.
- Identify and become familiar with the neighborhoods that would benefit from new affordable housing development and work to (re)direct IZ unit development toward those places.

Housing Trust Funds

Housing trust funds (HTFs) are city-, county-, or state-run programs funded by ongoing, dedicated revenue sources to produce, maintain, update, and operate housing that is affordable to extremely low-income households, including the homeless (NLIHC 2018; HTFP 2018a). HTF funds are primarily public funds from any jurisdictional level (with the exception of general funds); they may also be supplemented by private donations (HTFP 2018a). Examples of funding sources include federal HUD funds, real estate fees, taxes, and loan repayments. HUD standards require that at least 80 percent of federal funds must be dedicated to rental units, with no more than 10 percent going to ownership units; a maximum of 10 percent may be used for administration (U.S. HUD 2018).

HTFs first emerged during the 1970s in response to a retraction of federal low-income housing programs and the devolution of responsibility for providing low-income housing from the federal government to states and localities (Connerly 1993). A 2015 survey identified 727 HTFs across the United States. Nearly every state has at least one funded and operating HTF, though most have fewer than 10 programs. Five states—Massachusetts, New York, California, Washington, and Iowa—have 600 HTFs between them (Center for Community Change 2016).

HTFs target housing for the very lowest-income households, providing flexibility for jurisdictions to engage in the affordable housing market at various stages (new development, rehab and upkeep, or acquisition) and to assist individual households in affording housing through grants, subsidies, and other forms of assistance (U.S. HUD 2018).

Planners familiar with the lowest-income communities in their cities can support the implementation of HTFs and maximize their benefits by providing program administrators with accurate, up-to-date information on these households. Armed with this information, planners will be able to help HTF programs direct and target their funding to the most critical housing needs.

To support housing trust funds, planners can:

- Learn more about HTFs and how HTF policies might support low-income housing in their communities; the Housing Trust Fund Project provides detailed information and resources for crafting HTF proposals (HTFP 2018b).
- Consider ways that HTF can supplement other programs for affordable and low-income accessible housing, such as funding programs to assist low-income households with maintenance and repairs.
- Ensure that policy makers and those crafting these programs have accurate information about the lowest-income communities in their jurisdictions and their housing needs by engaging with and becoming familiar with these communities.

Community Land Trusts

In many housing markets today, high housing prices are putting both ownership and rental housing out of reach for a growing portion of the population. Community land trusts (CLTs) use a shared-equity model to create affordable ownership housing for low-income households by delinking land costs from housing costs. A primary purpose of CLTs is to maintain long-term housing affordability by holding land in a community trust, thereby protecting low-income homeowners from rising land values (Greenstein and Sungu-Eryilmaz 2005).

In a CLT, income-qualified homeowners purchase housing units and enter into long-term (e.g., 99-year) land leases with the CLT. When the housing unit is sold, profits are shared between the seller and the CLT (Axel-Lute 2018). As nonprofit, community-based organizations, CLTs are governed by boards of directors drawn from within the CLT, its surrounding areas, and from local government (Greenstein and Sungu-Eryilmaz 2005).

Since its inception in 1970, the number of individual CLT projects has grown to 330 in 44 states and the District of Columbia (NCLTN 2018). Over the years, CLTs have enabled thousands of low-income, first-time homebuyers to purchase the homes they live in, providing benefits to both households and communities (Thaden 2012). CLTs help build wealth and stability by providing long-term access to equity in housing units. Stable homeownership and affordability reduces foreclosure rates and subsequent displacement; stable land values protect communities and individuals from gentrification and the escalating land values that follow. And, in drawing directly from the community, CLT governing boards build local social capacity and encourage a community-oriented focus on projects.

Low-income households are the primary beneficiaries of CLTs but not all communities of color are served equally well by CLTs. Data suggests that CLTs serve African Americans better and Latinos less well than the open market does, though CLTs serve single mothers in general, and single mothers of color in particular, better than the open market (Thaden 2012). Overall, less than one-third of all CLT residents identified as nonwhite in 2011.

CLTs are primarily financial and land ownership instruments, but their implementation can benefit from the support of local planners familiar with the communities of color in their cities.

To support community land trusts and help them better serve people of color, planners can:

- Learn more about CLTs and how they can benefit low-income individuals, including people of color.
- Visit a local CLT or consider participating on a CLT board to become familiar with how it functions as a community.
- Ensure that the housing needs of local diverse communities are being met by CLT housing types, and that CLT housing is supported by zoning and policies that reflect the housing preferences of diverse households.

Housing Adaptability

Most housing in the United States is designed to accommodate households consisting of a single adult, an adult couple, or a single, nuclear family. Although live-work housing and multigenerational households are favored by diverse communities, these are often unintended, nonconforming uses of single-family housing units, detached and attached alike. The evolving lifestyles and growing diversity of Americans households are increasingly mismatched to standard American housing and zoning policy. Rather than maintaining regulations that lead to violations, it makes good sense for planners to reconsider and revise these perhaps overly restrictive residential zoning and occupancy standards that exist today.

Planners, being at the nexus of communities and zoning, are perfectly positioned to address this mismatch of nonconforming housing regulation. As planners become more familiar with a wider range of lifestyles from the diverse communities in their cities, they will be able to identify which housing adaptations will be better suited to today's more diverse households. They will also recognize which zoning laws need updating and how best to safely accommodate the evolving housing needs of the American public.

Communities of color achieve housing adaptability in a variety of ways, such as overlooking occupancy standards,

building nonconforming ADUs, and conducting home-based businesses in residential neighborhoods. The best way for planners to get to know what practices these communities are using to make housing work better for them is to walk through these neighborhoods and get to know the community. Planners who are looking to address problems by better accommodating the community will find that most people would like to comply with reasonable and appropriate rules and regulations.

Tools that address housing adaptability include housing occupancy standards, ADUs, and cohousing, as well as informal, incremental, semipermanent, and self-built housing. Planners often express surprise and disbelief that the latter housing practices are found in the United States outside of extremely underdeveloped areas, such as the U.S.–Mexico border region. Researchers are finding a growing number of examples of these housing practices in all regions of the country and in many different settings, including urban, suburban, and rural. This growth is partly due to greater interest in examining these practices, lack of access to affordable housing, and the nation's growing population diversity.

Housing Occupancy Standards

Housing occupancy standards are sets of rules that define how many people are allowed to live in a single housing unit based on the number of bedrooms or the overall number of square feet (Pader 2002). The most common standard used today allows two people per bedroom, also referred to as 2:1; this was set by HUD in the 1970s. This national standard was set to ensure the health, safety, comfort, and well-being of occupants. Experts also contend that it prevents overuse or misuse of the housing unit and excess strain on infrastructure (Iglesias 2012).

Although this logic is widely accepted in the United States, housing occupancy standards are subjective and vary from culture to culture; they may also (but not necessarily) vary by household income (Pader 2002). Some legal scholars and other housing experts have argued that the 2:1 occupancy standard reflects a set of embedded assumptions about how many people should share a bedroom or live in a given amount of space, as well as how many generations of the same extended family should live together (see, for example, Iglesias 2012 and Pader 2002). As the nation becomes more diverse and home to more people of color and immigrants, assumptions about occupancy standards are changing (Pader 2002; Myers, Baer, and Choi 1996).

The compositional makeup of households likely to exceed the 2:1 occupancy standard inadvertently or by choice varies widely. It includes, but is not limited to, nuclear families

with three or more children, multigenerational households, families with extended family members, and nuclear families with adult children who may be married and have children as well. Cultural communities where larger households are more common include certain religious denominations, immigrants, and people of color (Fieder and Huber 2016).

When the 2:1 standard is exceeded, these larger households may be prevented from living together or forced to choose other housing, possibly having to compromise on housing quality or location. These households and cultural groups are also some of the same groups who have historically suffered housing discrimination (Iglesias 2012). On the other hand, occupancy standards can impact people of color positively, particularly for those who are low income and who rent. When these standards are used to protect vulnerable households from uncomfortable forms of crowding or unscrupulous landlords, they serve a positive purpose. Households receiving housing subsidies benefit when they are able to access adequately sized housing.

Planners can become aware of variations in occupancy standards among diverse communities in their cities by getting to know these communities and finding or creating opportunities to have open dialogues about housing occupancy standards. Caution is advised, however. As noted earlier in the chapter, housing is a personal matter, and individuals may respond with reluctance when asked questions about this topic by someone they are unfamiliar with. Concerns about being “turned in” for immigration or housing violations will need to be credibly dispelled, perhaps with the assistance of interpreters and local community-based allies.

To support housing occupancy standards that provide health and safety protections while allowing for flexibility for diverse households, particularly those who are low income, planners can:

- Work with these communities to better understand their ideas about culturally appropriate variations in occupancy standards.
- Identify occupancy standards that are respectful and supportive of local diverse, low-income communities and households while providing needed protections and assurances, especially for renters.
- Advocate to incorporate informed, updated occupancy standards into local regulations.

Accessory Dwelling Units

ADUs are small-scale secondary housing units attached or adjacent to a principal single-family residence. ADUs typi-

cally include a separate outside entry, a kitchen, and at least one bathroom and bedroom, but share utility supplies, infrastructure, and the land parcel with the principal structure. ADUs can be studios, basement apartments, garage conversions, or any self-contained dwelling units that are smaller than the main unit (Figure 5.9).

Many ADUs are added years after construction of the primary structure. More recently, in response to increasing demographic and cultural diversity, home developers are incorporating ADUs into new construction (Green 2012). Thus far, such housing designs target middle- to high-income households, such as national homebuilder Lennar's trademarked "Next Gen" models (Lennar 2018). However, few cities have zoning that addresses the addition of ADUs to existing homes. As a result, ADU construction may be illegal; or, if it is legal, permitting can be slow, costing builders and developers time and money.

ADU regulations, where they are found, vary. Some jurisdictions restrict ADU occupancy to family members; other limit the number of ADUs by setting a cap based on the total number of ADUs or a number representing a certain percentage of the total number of primary single-family residences. Cities proposing (or just exploring) new zoning regulations to allow ADUs are often met with resistance, even when the numbers of proposed ADUs are small. Residents expressing NIMBYism are among the most vocal opponents, arguing that ADUs will result in increased traffic and street parking and an influx of renters.

Despite the opposition of some communities and the low number of jurisdictions that allow them, ADUs do exist, es-

pecially in low-income neighborhoods and among communities of color or immigrants. Many of these are self-built and almost indiscernible (Figure 5.10). For example, the garage conversions described in Chapter 3 add only interior changes, leaving exterior walls, doors, and windows unchanged. Many self-built ADUs such as these can only be identified through careful inspection. In these instances, homeowners or ADU occupants may be violating zoning or codes unknowingly. High numbers of self-built ADUs within a neighborhood, a lack of familiarity with zoning and codes, or a lack of enforcement are among the reasons why a homeowner or renter might think that ADUs are permitted.

ADUs and self-built housing types are common outside of the United States. Many immigrants see ADUs as vital to meeting the housing needs of extended families, allowing flexible use of homes over time and as the needs of households change. For example, an ADU may be used at various times for a home business, to generate extra rental income, or to house extended family members. Creating self-built housing is comparatively low in cost; avoiding permit fees further lowers building costs. These informal approaches may be the only means for low-income homeowners to add needed living space.

Except when construction methods are dangerously subpar, ADUs provide many benefits to households and neighborhoods. First and foremost, they provide additional living space for members of an extended family or caregivers, providing proximity as well as privacy. Additionally, they can provide homeowners with supplemental income, which is often returned to the local economy. ADUs also increase density, a key component of transit-supportive areas, doing



Figure 5.9. Accessory dwelling unit above a garage in Huntersville, North Carolina (Flickr photo/Brett VA (CC BY 2.0))



Figure 5.10. Garage conversion creating an almost indiscernible accessory dwelling unit in Santa Fe (Flickr photo/Teofilo (CC BY 2.0))

so without infrastructure upgrades or the high costs of infill development. And, as small units, they provide affordable housing for small households (Mukhija 2014; Abu Ghazaleh et al. 2011; Sage Computing 2008). Increasingly, arguments in favor of ADUs also include support for aging in place, or the opportunity for residents to remain in a neighborhood where they have a socially supportive network by downsizing from an oversized unit into a smaller one (Winick and Jaffe 2015; Sage Computing 2008).

Municipalities that implement and enforce ADU regulations are also choosing to protect the health and safety of ADU occupants. Nonconforming ADUs may place occupants at risk, and the unregulated nature of a nonconforming unit prevents city officials from enforcing basic safety standards and building codes. Good regulations provide ADU occupants with legal standing against landlords who rent unsafe, substandard units. Developing and implementing ADU zoning standards also give planners the opportunity to open dialogues in communities with existing nonconforming ADUs and to work with residents in creating a path towards maintaining neighborhood quality. “Amnesty” programs that allow retroactive permitting of existing ADUs without penalties have been shown not only to improve compliance of unregulated units but also to improve safety for occupants and increase the supply of affordable housing (APA 2019; Sage Computing 2008).

Conversely, municipalities that present a hostile climate for ADUs may discourage homeowners from being open and transparent about ADUs they have already built or want to build. Bans on ADUs, intimidating permitting processes, costly design guidelines, and no path for grandfathering nonconforming units all have the effect of shutting down dialogue, encouraging illegal ADU construction, and dividing communities.

Zoning that accommodates a wider range of housing and household types is more supportive of communities of color and immigrants. Where zoning allows it, housing can be adapted to the changing needs of American households in a number of ways, including adding small ADUs.

To support safe, legal ADU development, planners can:

- Conduct neighborhood workshops to educate residents about the pros and cons of ADUs and to identify the need for ADU additions.
- Work with policy makers to craft appropriate ADU regulations for zoning codes that allow flexibility while protecting health and safety.
- Work with permitting offices to reduce barriers to obtaining permits, including providing material in community-

appropriate non-English languages, offering reduced or sliding-scale fees, and holding workshops on how to obtain permits.

- Identify ways for homeowners with existing ADUs to legalize their units, thereby increasing safety for renters and occupants.

Cohousing

Another alternative housing model that shows untapped potential for meeting the needs of diverse communities is cohousing. Cohousing, or “collaborative housing,” is a type of intentional community that emphasizes the planning, development, and management of a collective housing and living development (Tummers 2015; Ginzburg 2015). Cohousing originated in Denmark during the 1960s and was adapted to the U.S. context during the 1980s.

The hallmark of cohousing is its social culture, which is built around collective or communal living. Households live separately but in dense housing types with shared common outdoor and indoor spaces, such as communal kitchens and dining halls, community gardens, playgrounds, or yoga studios (Figure 5.11). The close quarters of a cohousing community encourage interaction and exchange around meal preparation and dining, shared child and elderly care, and other social activities. Although cohousing mimics the practices of people of color and immigrants from non-Western countries and more socially traditional lifestyles, cohousing communities in the United States lack racial, ethnic, cultural, and economic diversity and are predominantly white and middle class (Abrams 2017).



Figure 5.11. Cohousing community in Ithaca, New York (Flickr photo/em_diesus (CC BY 2.0))



Figure 5.12. Vecindad of Colonia Roma, Puebla Street, Mexico City (Wikimedia Commons/ProtoplasmaKid (CC-BY-SA 4.0))

The lack of diversity among U.S. cohousing communities may have several reasons. One may be the social and economic capital required to develop a cohousing community, which is typically initiated, designed, and built by groups of individuals. Together, they buy the land, hire planners or architects and builders, and contribute professionally to the extent possible. These communities require time, money, and resources that are not necessarily available to many people of color or immigrants. Nonetheless, with the strong social and cultural values embedded in its physical and social environments, the cohousing model has the potential to meet the housing and social needs of people of color and immigrants.

A little-known Mexican social housing model similar to cohousing is the *vecindades* model. *Vecindades* (“neighborhoods” in Spanish) were courtyard apartment projects built in and around Mexico City during the early decades of the 20th century by the Mexican government to provide affordable housing to low-income communities (Figure

5.12). They were introduced to the American public by the anthropologist Oscar Lewis through a series of books and articles published during the 1950s and 1960s. Lewis credits *vecindades* in Mexico with helping their low-income Mexican residents feel less isolation and anonymity than similarly low-income Americans (Lewis 1960).

As with *vecindades*, residents of cohousing can stretch small household budgets through cooperation and sharing. Child or elder care, meals, errands, or transportation that is carried out collectively and cooperatively can lower household expenses. Community gardens and other shared amenities can lower individual costs as well. Quality of life in a cohousing community can be high as well as affordable.

Creating cohousing communities that are affordable to low-income households will take creative effort but can reap significant dividends. Combining the social housing model of cohousing with development subsidy programs may be a way for planners working with diverse communities to create this innovative housing.

To support cohousing that is affordable to low-income households and accessible to people of color, planners can:

- Learn about cohousing as a social housing model to better understand how it can support diverse communities.
- Work with existing or forming cohousing communities to identify and implement programs that will produce housing units affordable to low-income households.
- Advocate for the zoning needed to accommodate the cohousing land-use model of multiple structures on one parcel of land.

Informal, Incremental, Semipermanent, and Self-Built Housing

Most housing development in the United States is formally planned, permitted, and built. It conforms to current building code, reflects contemporary building standards, and is not occupied until the structure is complete. While this is the most familiar approach, it is not the only way housing is built in this country. In the shadows and out of sight, in areas exposed to hazards and prone to environmental disasters, in unincorporated territory where regulation is absent or unenforced, and in some of the nation’s most vulnerable and low-income areas are a range of nonconforming housing types—housing that is informal, incremental, semipermanent, or self-built (Figure 5.13, p. 99).

These four housing types are typically excluded from planning discussions in the United States, but deserve mention. *Informal housing* refers to housing built without the



Figure 5.13. Informal housing in Phoenix (Andrea Garfinkel-Castro)



benefit of institutional oversight such as building permits; it can also refer to housing built on land not legally held by the householder. *Incremental housing* refers to housing that is built in phases over time, often a single room at a time. *Semipermanent housing* refers to housing that is intended to be short term or mobile, or to appear that way. *Self-built housing* refers to housing built by the householder's family or acquaintances, with or without the benefit of professional-level skills. These housing types are not necessarily exclusive. For example, incremental housing may also be self-built.

Few planners have seen these housing types, other than trailers, or know that they are found throughout all regions of the country. Most existing research has focused on the U.S.–Mexico border region (see, for example, Donelson and Esparza 2010; Esparza and Donelson 2008; Ward 2014; Giusti and Olivares 2012). Yet, in suburbs and towns and hiding behind high rises are aging and forgotten neighborhoods and unincorporated areas. They are home to diverse, low-income, and immigrant communities who built this housing to affordably house themselves. Unevenly dispersed around the country, they nonetheless exist in all contexts—urban, peri-urban, suburban, and rural (Durst and Wegmann 2017).

Being inexpensive to produce, these housing types are important to low- and very low-income households. But they can come at a cost: limited legal standing resulting from living in a nonconforming unit, living in housing of substandard construction or materials, living with inadequate or missing infrastructure, and insecure tenure. Additional hazards to the health and well-being of those who occupy these housing types include exposure to the elements, lack of heating or cooling, lack of potable water and sanitary sewers, lack of electrical service or unsafe electrical wiring, and the social stigma that comes with living in marginalized conditions.

As imperfect and undesirable as this housing may appear, these methods have long served to provide housing to those without wealth or income and few means for obtaining either. The nonconforming or illegal nature of this housing makes securing equity loans for its construction or purchase nearly impossible. Its unconventional nature leads occupants to conceal either its location or its character. For example, research conducted in 2011–2012 in the Phoenix metropolitan area revealed one example after another of informal, nonconforming housing best described as “clandestine”—so seamlessly incorporated into the urban landscape as to be invisible to anyone not looking closely enough (Durst and Wegmann 2017; Kamel 2016).

To understand how planners might best respond to these housing practices, it helps to understand the forces that bring them into being. A primary driver is lack of affordable housing. Any work planners do to increase the availability of decent housing that is affordable to low- and very low-income households helps to combat unsafe, unhealthy, and illegal housing. Another driver is the often formidable and costly permitting process: households with limited English-language proficiency are less likely to engage in formal permitting processes, and low-income households will find high permitting fees unaffordable. Fear of discovery or retaliation for being undocumented also drives households to accept or build nonconforming housing in marginalized locations.

While incremental housing construction is outside mainstream American planning practices, research finds that it is a viable, workable approach to providing housing for very low-income communities and for bringing nonconforming, underprovisioned housing into conformance and providing it with services such as electrical, plumbing, and sanitation systems (Giusti and Olivares 2012). An informa-

tive case study in Texas observed that lenders working with homeowners of self-built incremental housing found that these borrowers had a higher-than-average repayment record (Giusti and Estevez 2011).

To better serve marginalized populations while supporting housing practices that are in conformance with zoning, building codes, and land ownership laws, planners can:

- Become aware of and familiar with communities that use these informal housing practices.
- Identify what practices are being used locally and what they look like “on the ground.”
- Conduct outreach to neighborhoods where these practices are found and exchange information—find out what the primary drivers are specific to the local community and what will help bring housing up to basic standards and conformance; ask how can planners can help address local housing challenges.
- Work with policy makers and decision makers to offer amnesty programs, sliding-scale fees, translated materials, and workshops (with interpreters) to assist householders and homeowners in bringing their housing up to a livable standard and into conformance with local codes and zoning.
- Increase the amount of housing affordable to low- and very low-income households.
- Make the processes of accessing affordable housing easier for those with limited English proficiency skills.

ADVANCING HEALTH AND SAFETY

The safety and physical and mental health of people of color is associated with a number of factors, including race and ethnicity, income and wealth, and environmental conditions. As determinants of access to health care, high-quality food, better neighborhoods, adequate housing, education, and multiple transportation options, income and wealth have the most influence overall on individual well-being (Woolf et al. 2015; Pickett and Wilkinson 2015; Wilkinson and Pickett 2009). In addition to earning lower average income than whites, people of color are also at a historical disadvantage in terms of wealth and wealth accumulation, having been largely prevented from building real estate-based wealth, as detailed in Chapter 2.

An approach taken by planners and legal and environmental activists to understand and address the “disproportionate impact of environmental decisions, land-use policies, and regulatory processes on low- and moderate-income peo-

ple and people of color,” which is often manifested in negative health and safety outcomes, is environmental justice (Arnold 2007, 1). The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (U.S. EPA) defines environmental justice as “the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income, with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies” (U.S. EPA 2018).

The position that environmental justice is an area of concern for people of color in general—and for those who are low income in particular—is supported by a substantial body of evidence (Arnold 2007; Bolin, Grineski, and Collins 2005; Pulido 2000). One area of concern is the evidence that low-income people of color have greater proximity to locally unwanted land uses (LULUs) and the negative environmental impacts they cause, which is particularly problematic for households with children (Arnold 2007). Another is the long-term, systematic stigmatization and environmental and spatial marginalization of low-income communities of color (Bolin, Grineski, and Collins 2005; Spirn 2005). Environmental justice holds promise as a means for understanding the role of race and privilege in the distribution of negative environmental impacts within communities and galvanizing change (Boone 2008).

As a foundational principle of good planning, an environmental justice perspective recognizes the need to balance efforts to address the harms and inequities of the past with attention to how justice can be implemented in planning today and in the future (Arnold 2007). Looking forward does not imply an erasure of the past. Rather, by implementing principles of environmental justice in today’s planning processes and decisions, planners are guiding change that can positively impact communities in the present and future. The sidebar on p. 101 describes a new tool developed collaboratively by legislators, activists, and planners from the state of California that planners can use to help plan to address issues of environmental justice.

Planners can promote the health and safety of diverse communities both directly and indirectly. The following sections discuss tools that planners can apply in specific areas—healthy food access, parks and recreational facilities, air quality and pedestrian infrastructure, sanitation and potable water access, child care and elder care, and public safety—to improve the quality of life for communities of color.

Food Access

The spatial factors of where we live, work, and play have sweeping impacts on human health and safety. For example, low-

SB 1000 TOOLKIT: PLANNING FOR HEALTHY COMMUNITIES

Many people of color are subjected to sources of pollution due to discriminatory land-use practices in which manufacturing industries have been located literally in their backyards. As a result, they have been exposed to toxic pollutants that increase the likelihood of diseases such as asthma and cancer.

California has taken measures to address this issue. The 2016 Planning for Healthy Communities Act (SB 1000) requires cities and counties to adopt an environmental justice element in their general plans or integrate environmental justice-related policies, objectives, and goals throughout other elements of their general plans.

To help implement SB 1000 and promote equitable use of land, the California Environmental Justice Alliance (CEJA) has created a SB 1000 toolkit. Through the toolkit CEJA seeks to foster pollution-free environments, thereby increasing social equity and protecting the health of communities.

The SB 1000 toolkit serves as a guiding document to help stakeholders devise an effective set of policies for environmental justice. It includes an overview of SB 1000 requirements and provides planners with supportive tools that are useful for assessment and development of pivotal strategies. The toolkit supports cities' engagement with environmental justice practices and helps communities put their voices forward for more equitable land-use planning. For instance, stakeholders are provided with resources to conduct successful lobbying campaigns against polluting and discriminatory land uses. The toolkit also contains useful case studies that help planners and government officials to select appropriate approaches for their own communities. It offers guidance in

addressing the challenges of underprivileged communities while ensuring legal justification.

The toolkit is intended to help planners:

- Explain the planning process to the public and decision makers.
- Identify what the planning process is trying to achieve.
- Determine how the community will participate.
- Address critical issues and prioritize interventions accordingly.
- Integrate community members with local governments so that they can work together proactively and collaboratively to address environmental justice concerns.

The ultimate objective of the toolkit is to foster the well-being of communities of color by providing resources that prevent the unfair use of land.

The SB 1000 toolkit is available for download at <https://caleja.org/2017/09/sb-1000-toolkit-release>.



Figure 5.14. Community garden in Baltimore (Flickr photo/Eli Pousson (CCO 1.0))

income communities of color often have little access to fresh and healthy foods, a situation known as a “food desert” (Gordon et al. 2011; Hendrickson, Smith, and Eikenberry 2006). Such neighborhoods and districts are not attractive to grocers and lack large supermarkets with fresh produce (Azuma et al. 2010). Food deserts are instead typically served by convenience stores that carry little or no fresh produce and pre-cooked fast foods that are higher in unhealthy fats, sodium, and sugars. Although convenience-store food sometimes offers more calories at a lower price, the hidden costs to individuals and society include obesity, diabetes, heart attack, stroke, and other long-term complications (Hendrickson, Smith, and Eikenberry 2006; Block, Scribner, and DeSalvo 2004).

Planners who spend time becoming familiar with low-income communities of color will most likely find plenty of vacant lots in their neighborhoods that could house community gardens or farmers markets (Figure 5.14). They can then prepare to work with the community to make improved food access through these outlets successful. Community gardens provide multifaceted assets to communities in the form of green space, multigenerational and cross-community interaction, community collaboration, and food security (Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny 2004). They also help mitigate the build-up of excess urban heat (Harlan et al. 2006). Research has shown, however, that while community gardens are valuable to people of color, they require good outreach and education to fully engage residents (Bleasdale, Crouch, and Harlan 2011).

Planners can also support regulations that support street vending, discussed earlier in this chapter, where this practice is appreciated. As part of building relationships with diverse communities, planners should learn about cultural dietary

preferences. They should also become more familiar with the health risks associated with poor food access and seek to engage community-based allies in organizing workshops and activities to increase food and health awareness.

Another approach to increasing food security for communities of color is to improve access to grocery stores by public transportation, both in terms of coverage and frequency. One study of transit access to grocery stores for low-income communities of color found that bus routes offered access to supermarkets, but scheduling was so infrequent it negated the benefits of good routing (Farber, Morang, and Widener 2014).

To help low-income communities of color improve their access to quality foods, planners can:

- Conduct an inventory of food sources in low-income communities of color in their cities (a comparative analysis with more affluent communities may be helpful) to verify the presence of food deserts.
- Work directly with local residents and community-based organizations to identify preferred and creative ways of filling local food needs, such as major grocery stores, community gardens, farmers markets, food carts, and food banks, and support the community in realizing them.
- Review zoning codes and other regulations to ensure they accommodate nontraditional ways of gaining access to quality foods, such as community gardens and food carts.
- Reach out to major grocers to determine barriers to serving the food needs of low-income communities of color in underserved areas of their jurisdictions.
- Seek or establish funding for programs or policies that incentivize grocery store construction and healthier foods at corner stores in underserved areas.
- Work with public health organizations to conduct educational workshops on healthy foods awareness and set up information tables at community events and farmers markets.

Parks and Green Space

Parks, green space, and trails have positive effects on health. Although there is ample evidence that parks and other types of green space offer people of all backgrounds and ages positive benefits (see, for example, Sherer 2006), considerable research also reveals that people of color, especially those in low-income neighborhoods, may have little access to parks and other outdoor green space (Suminski et al. 2012).

While working with communities of color to increase the number of parks and green spaces within their neighborhoods, planners should be aware that these amenities may also

be associated with gentrification (Wolch, Byrne, and Newell 2014). They should carefully balance goals of increasing green space with maintaining existing community diversity.

In addition to needing more parks and green space in general, low-income communities of color need outdoor space that meets their specific social and cultural needs. Planners can review literature that discusses racial and ethnic differences in park use (see, for example, Li 2014; Tinsley, Tinsley, and Croskeys 2002; Loukaitou-Sideris 1995), but they should also work directly with communities of color to better understand the amenities and features they desire. Park planning processes present special opportunities for planners to work closely with the diverse ethnic and cultural groups in their cities to reimagine traditional parks into more creative, welcoming spaces for all (Figure 5.15).

To increase and improve the parks and green space in neighborhoods of people of color, especially those who are low income, planners can:

- Work with local residents to conduct a parks and green space audit using a checklist template that includes measures both quantitative (e.g., square feet, number of benches, etc.) and qualitative (e.g., quality and maintenance of landscaping).
- Hold community-based workshops to explore ideas for public space in these neighborhoods to determine programming interests and needs.
- Ensure that community engagement includes all ages, abilities, ethnicities, and cultural groups.
- Consider creative ideas for more and better parks and green space, including use of medians, rights-of-way, and vacant lots.

Air Quality and Pedestrian Infrastructure

Transportation planning that is focused on moving cars efficiently does not benefit everyone equally, and communities of color have disproportionately borne the resulting negative impacts. Examples of this injustice include many major infrastructure projects carried out during the 20th century. From New York City to San Jose and cities in between, these projects dissected neighborhoods with multilane freeways and located on- and off-ramps through areas that were home to communities of color and immigrants, causing social upheaval, added traffic, increased pedestrian risk, and high exposure to air pollution (Sanchez, Stolz, and Ma 2003). Following these freeway projects, rates of asthma skyrocketed, and quality of life declined in these neighborhoods (Woolf et al. 2015; Williams, Sternthal, and Wright 2009; Gwynn and Thurston 2001).



Figure 5.15. Urban park in San Francisco's Chinatown (Andrea Garfinkel-Castro)

Our society's reliance on cars has had widespread negative effects on urban public health, including high rates of obesity, collisions between pedestrians and vehicles, traffic congestion, poor air quality, and the loss of a sense of community (Scheepers et al. 2014). Again, low-income communities of color and immigrants consistently experience these hazards more acutely than other demographic groups. The same neighborhoods that have been disrupted by freeways have higher rates of traffic accidents that injure and kill pedestrians (WHO 2013). Aging, incomplete, and missing infrastructure, along with lack of traffic control and weak enforcement, contribute to this disproportionate risk. Encouraging residents to engage in active transportation modes when air quality is poor and risk of injury or death is high is naive if not negligent.

Planners can make a point of focusing on the health impacts experienced by people of color and immigrants as a result of freeway infrastructure by holding workshops, collaborating with public health workers, and becoming a resource to these communities by gathering data on health and safety in the affected neighborhoods. Planners will gain valuable information from on-the-ground walking tours of areas where freeways interface with urban neighborhoods, making note of air and sound qualities in addition to the lack of safety and comfort.

An extensive body of research and information exists on ways to create safe and walkable pedestrian environments (see, for example, WHO 2013; Stoker et al. 2013). Strategies include repairing and completing pedestrian infrastructure, slowing traffic speeds, and increasing pedestrian and bicyclist safety. Mixed use transit-oriented development and

Figure 5.16. A “Paint the Pavement” project in Salt Lake City (authors)



infrastructure-based traffic-calming measures are the most researched and recommended means for creating safer walkable and bikeable conditions. Physical and visual measures to reduce traffic speeds include speed humps, traffic circles, and curb extensions, among many others. The U.S. Department of Transportation’s Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) has produced an open-access instructor’s guide to a course on bicycle and pedestrian transportation; lesson 11 focuses on these traffic-calming approaches (Toole 1999). But these approaches are costly and can be triggers for gentrification.

Expensive measures are not necessary for creating walkable or bikeable conditions, however. Although low-cost measures are largely absent from academic and professional literature, planners can explore them as do-it-yourself (DIY) examples in articles, books, and online publications and images (see, for example, Goodyear 2014; Nettler 2013; Abramian Mott 2012). At times such measures may be carried out by residents without municipal authorization.

Recognizing a need for greater outreach to diverse communities, the FHWA created a web page titled “Hispanic Pedestrian and Bicyclist Safety,” with links to Spanish- and English-language flyers for safety education (FHWA 2013). This approach focuses on creating safety through the actions of individual pedestrians and bicyclists, which may send the message that safety for people of color and immigrants lies in their hands. As necessary as individual safety habits are, however, they cannot overcome dangerous environmental conditions.

Despite the absence of empirical data on low-cost traffic safety measures, planners can engage local communi-

ties of color in improving active transportation conditions in their neighborhoods. Planners should start with one or more on-the-ground audits, focusing on various aspects of active transportation and walkable environments (see, for example, AARP 2016). After finding problematic areas, such as gaps in sidewalk infrastructure, unsafe bus stops, poorly controlled intersections, or unmarked but commonly used midblock pedestrian crossings, planners can work with local communities to identify and implement low- or no-cost interventions. Because slowing down traffic is the single most important means of reducing vehicle-pedestrian and vehicle-bicyclist accidents and saving lives, exploring low-cost traffic calming is the logical place to start.

Low-cost traffic-calming approaches can be supplemented by pedestrian safety education campaigns and school-based education. For example, planners can work with residents to implement community-based projects such as “Paint the Pavement” (PTP), in which a design is painted on the street at an intersection to slow traffic and increase driver awareness (Figure 5.16). These projects are relatively low-cost, engage local communities in a positive way, and create an interface between residents and municipalities when carried out as officially sanctioned projects (García 2017a).

A number of cities, including Minneapolis, Salt Lake City, and Charlotte, North Carolina, are implementing PTP projects and have posted information online (see, for example, Charlotte DOT 2018; García Zambrana 2017). Follow-up studies in Charlotte documented an average reduction in traffic speed of two miles per hour in the area along the PTP

project (Charlotte DOT 2018). Another type of community-engaged pedestrian safety tool is the “Walking School Bus,” a program that uses adult volunteers to coordinate school-bound children walking together to school grounds. While schools typically coordinate directly with parents to administer this program, planners can provide school administrators in areas where families of color live with information and support (see, for example, National Center for Safe Routes to School 2019).

To support communities of color and immigrants, especially those who are low income, to improve the air quality and pedestrian infrastructure in their neighborhoods, planners can:

- Conduct research to determine air quality measures in neighborhoods impacted by interstate freeways, highways, and high-speed roadways.
- Conduct walkability audits and other surveys to evaluate pedestrian infrastructure and the walking experiences in these neighborhoods.
- Examine traffic patterns and freeway ramp locations to ensure that low-income neighborhoods are protected from excess car exhaust near freeway on-ramps and excessively high posted speed limits.
- Identify and advocate for traffic control systems that minimize excess and unnecessary vehicle exhaust from practices such as stop-and-go traffic (e.g., replacing stoplights with traffic circles) and idling (e.g., establishing “idle-free zones”).
- Meet with community members, community-based allies, and community leaders to conduct public health education workshops to encourage active transportation and hold public health fairs to increase access to health education and health care services.
- Engage low-income neighborhoods in addressing pedestrian and bicycle safety through activities such as safety awareness education, “Paint the Pavement” projects, “Walking School Bus” programs, and safety audits.
- Identify vehicle-pedestrian/bicycle crash “hot spots” in low-income neighborhoods and work on ways to slow traffic and improve pedestrian safety.
- Plan, promote, and implement bicycle lanes, especially in low-income neighborhoods and around transit stations and bus stops.

Sanitation and Potable Water

Low-income people of color are more likely to live in marginalized neighborhoods. These places often lack basic in-

frastructure of all types, including sidewalks, street lighting, traffic control, waste and recycling pick-up service, sources of potable water, and sanitary sewers. The number of people in the United States reported to lack access to “basic indoor plumbing”—meaning a toilet with sanitary sewer, septic, or cesspool hook-up; a tub or shower; or running water—was 1.6 million in 2014 (Riggs 2018). While 1.6 million is less than one percent of the total U.S. population, it represents a large number of people, and this figure may have been undercounted due to the sheer marginalization of those living with these conditions.

The substandard nature of such development can result from being in an unincorporated area or from simply being underdeveloped or underserved. These predominantly rural places are located across the country in regions such as the Deep South, in agricultural and rural communities, and along the U.S.–Mexico border (Figure 5.17). Maintaining public health and safety is a challenge in these places; not surprisingly, rates of disease and illness in underdeveloped areas exceed national standards (Tavernise 2016; U.S. EPA 2016).



Figure 5.17. Substandard housing along the U.S.–Mexico border (Flickr photo/Bill Kuschel (CC BY 2.0))

While these communities need considerable resources, planners can support them first by becoming familiar with their specific sanitation needs and then by drawing attention to those conditions. Constructing new, repairing existing, and finishing incomplete infrastructure is costly and funding sources may take time to acquire. One funding source that can be used for such projects is the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program. HUD also funds the State CDBG Colonias Set-Aside program, specifically aimed at improving U.S.-based housing and development in the U.S.–Mexico border region, where over 70 million people live (U.S. EPA 2016; U.S. HUD n.d.).

To ensure that residences in low- and very low-income communities of color have clean water piped in, waste pick-up, and a system for handling wastewater, planners can:

- Identify and map out neighborhoods or areas within their jurisdictions that lack these basic services.
- Work with residents and community-based allies to conduct an inventory of service needs, recognizing that some people in these communities are fearful of outsiders, especially city officials or representatives.
- Identify funding programs that will support installation and expansion of basic services to these communities.
- Where these areas are unincorporated, work with local officials to determine ways to provide better and more complete services.

Child Care, After-School Programs, and Elder Care

Society's youngest and oldest members are the most vulnerable and require special attention. Care centers or other means to meet the needs of these dependents are necessary to allow primary caretakers opportunities to work or have relief. Caring for dependents is both an economic issue and a community issue; planners are often at the nexus of these two areas and trained to facilitate dialogue that tailors solutions to diverse communities (Warner 2006).

Dependent care is underaddressed by planners for a number of reasons, including gender bias—it may be seen as a private logistical concern historically navigated by women—and as an issue not well recognized to be within the purview of planning and planners (Warner 2006). Finding care for our youngest, oldest, and other dependents is increasingly the concern of more diverse households. In diverse communities that are also low income, creativity will be needed to find space and opportunity for care centers, large and small. Creative alternatives include colocating elder and child care;

hiring seniors to provide child care; and establishing home-based, employer-based, and neighborhood-based care centers.

Planners can support the development of dependent care centers in diverse communities with various planning tools, including long-range and comprehensive plans, neighborhood plans, zoning codes, and permitting processes (Anderson and Dektar 2011). For example, planners can ensure that dependent care is included as an agenda item when developing city-wide and neighborhood plans, whether long or short term.

Zoning for care centers is an especially important tool for supporting the needs of local, neighborhood-based dependent care facilities in diverse communities, especially in residential neighborhoods. Supporting dependent care facilities that are located in diverse neighborhoods is an example of how working in one area overlaps and supports another, in this case home-based businesses, discussed earlier in this chapter. Recognizing dependent care as economic development and community infrastructure, planners can become proactive in addressing permitting processes, working to provide accessible instructions (translated, where needed), sliding-scale fees, and counter assistance (and translators). In community engagement, dependent care facilities should be suggested as a recognized community service, supported by planners.

Planners can also do the challenging work of conducting a needs assessment to identify if there are adequate care facilities in or near the neighborhoods where people of color and immigrants live to support working parents and adults with dependent parents. This can best be accomplished on the ground by getting to know these neighborhoods directly, ideally with the assistance of community-based allies.

To support diverse communities in having an abundance of child and elder care within close proximity, planners can:

- Identify basic care needs and service providers using demographic analysis, community outreach, and surveys.
- Work with community-based allies to identify how to fill gaps based on need, such as expansion of after-school programs or combined child and elder care facilities.
- Assist neighborhood-based child care and elder care centers with obtaining licenses and permits by streamlining application processes, providing translated material, and updating zoning to accommodate care centers.

Public Safety

In coining the term “eyes on the street,” Jane Jacobs (1961) described how activated streets and sidewalks help communities by drawing people out of their homes and into contact with each other. She also identified local shopkeepers, regu-

lar passers-by, and those who monitored the street from their windows as key components of an organic urban safety network. These opportunities are often abundant in communities of color. Small shopkeepers may set out tables that spill onto the sidewalk where they can interact directly with the local community. Home-based businesses, street vendors, and perennial garage sales add “eyes” as well as interest (Valianatos 2014; Frommer et al. 2011).

Good neighborhoods have low crime rates and public spaces that are comfortable, safe, and welcoming. Achieving this can be challenging, especially for communities of color—many of whom have had mixed (at best) relationships with authorities and the police. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) is a formalized approach to creating safe communities that combines design, management, and uses of the built environment. CPTED emerged from the work done in the 1970s by Oscar Newman (1973) on “defensible space.”

A newer approach to CPTED has emerged more recently in response to changing expectations for the program as well as changing social dynamics. CPTED is increasingly rejected as a one-size-fits-all program that can be applied everywhere with the same results (Cozens and Love 2015). CPTED necessarily involves community-engaged input and planning to determine for each community what constitutes risk or danger, what modifications are needed, and who will pay for them. It works best as a combined top-down, bottom-up process that focuses on meeting the needs specific to each neighborhood.

The first generation of CPTED used a mainly environmental approach to fostering and enhancing surveillance and crime prevention. To be better responsive to more culturally and socially diverse communities, CPTED has evolved from a check-the-box approach to more of a holistic, ecological one (Saville and Cleveland 1997). This ecological approach starts with the original environmental considerations and adds social considerations such as community identity, self-policing, and neighborhood capacity. Taken together, an understanding of self-empowerment, collective action, and social cohesion can emerge to better inform community decision making (Cozens and Love 2015). Planners can use this second-generation CPTED as a guide for working with communities of color to identify community-wide safety goals and culturally appropriate approaches to achieving them.

To support communities of color in improving public safety in their neighborhoods, planners can:

- Engage local residents in conducting an audit to develop an objective measure of public safety features in their

neighborhoods, using a checklist template to ensure consistency in data collection.

- Hold informative workshops on public safety with these communities, reviewing data collected and providing information about creating safer communities using CPTED or a similar program.
- Solicit ideas from residents on ways to improve public safety in their neighborhoods, including environmental improvements as well as social approaches such as community policing.
- Follow up with residents regularly to reassess and continue the process of improving public safety.

ENHANCING PLACEMAKING

Ideally, public spaces convey a sense of welcoming and belonging to everyone. However, our socially and culturally diverse society makes creating public spaces that are universally appealing to everyone difficult. Creating places that are welcoming, delightful, useful, and enjoyable to diverse publics is a challenging goal that is facing planners in virtually every U.S. community today.

Placemaking can be described as “the deliberate shaping of an environment to facilitate social interaction and improve a community’s quality of life” (Silberberg and Lorah 2013, 1–2). Those involved in placemaking vary widely from place to place, but most commonly include residents, community-based organizations and nonprofits, and city planners. Projects also vary in time frame and scope; one project may address an empty right-of-way while another targets an underutilized or abandoned shopping mall. Regardless of individual variations, placemaking today is seen as a way for cities and towns to address “concerns about healthy living, social justice, community capacity-building, economic revitalization, childhood development, and a host of other issues facing residents, workers, and visitors” (Silberberg and Lorah 2013, 2).

Although planners necessarily focus mainly on placemaking in public spaces, such as parks, plazas and squares, streets, sidewalks, and transit service areas, placemaking is about more than creating great places—it is also about people. In her classic book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs (1961) asserted that parks and public spaces need people just as much as people need them. Her observations have been repeatedly borne out—the gathering of people and their collective activities are what turns spaces into places. Jacobs also argued that diversity—of people, places, and activities—should be encouraged. Her insights came

Figure 5.18. People using urban park space in San Francisco's Chinatown (Andrea Garfinkel-Castro)



from spending substantial amounts of time in different public spaces, a lesson that translates well for planners working with communities of color on placemaking projects.

Planners can apply Jacobs's method of walking through and lingering in a space to become more familiar with public space and placemaking throughout their cities and compare different areas to each other. It quickly becomes apparent that public spaces vary throughout a city, something that is difficult to notice when living, working, and playing within only certain neighborhoods. For example, a downtown urban core that has been the focus of reinvestment and renewal may look and feel more important and valued than a city's smaller commercial corridors that serve communities of color and immigrants—which may appear neglected and unkempt, with narrower sidewalks and few if any plazas, parks, or art.

To get the most out of these excursions, take them at a variety of times of the day, days of the week, and seasons of the year. There are many elements to notice: how people use public space in different neighborhoods; if nonconforming activities, such as street vending, are tolerated in some areas but not in others; if there is signage in various languages; or if people linger in public spaces—maybe they bring a sack lunch, meet friends, or people watch (Figure 5.18). Planners can keep records of their explorations using journals, checklists, surveys, and photos to reduce reliance on memory and make side-by-side comparisons easier. Taking extra time to get to know an unfamiliar neighborhood and the people that live there sends a message of interest, openness, and caring, which will be a valuable asset once placemaking outreach and engagement begins.

Planners are likely to find that, once genuine connections have been made with communities of color, placemak-

ing discussions will lead to a wide range of creative projects. This is because these residents often have had to make do with fewer resources and serve greater needs with less. Channeling resources to communities of color is also likely to result in innovative placemaking efforts that address issues of social, environmental, and economic justice and equity. There will be opportunities to appreciate and celebrate rich cultural heritages. Placemaking is a wonderful opportunity for planners to support diverse communities in connecting through art, culture, and expression (see, for example, Loukaitou-Sideris 2012; Soule, Hodgson, and Beavers 2011; Hodgson and Beavers 2011).

Despite the possibilities that placemaking presents, communities in areas that have historically been neglected or overlooked and who find themselves the focus of formal placemaking projects may have significant concerns summarized by two questions: “whose place?” and “for whom?” These questions are particularly important because new interest in placemaking too often signals the coming gentrification of an area and the displacement of existing residents and businesses (Kahne 2015). Talk of placemaking projects may signal interest in a community's unique assets and attributes but can raise apprehensions about what residents see as cultural appropriation and exploitive commercialization. They may foresee rising rents, more expensive goods and services, and an influx of new residents, taking advantage of an earlier era of neglect and decay and the subsequent low land values (Smith 2008).

However, others argue that gentrification is neither a necessary outcome of formal placemaking projects nor a bad thing (Smith 1996). Proponents argue that placemaking projects have the potential to improve quality of life for everyone in an area and to create new opportunities—not

only for newcomers but for existing residents as well. Some projects may honor diversity of culture and lifestyles. They may also seek to rectify the past, providing the economic stimulation and community development that was deserved but withheld or overlooked.

Either way, placemaking efforts are bound to continue, and planners are integral to the process. Placemaking that is truly intended to support and improve communities without displacement will engage existing communities, solicit their input, and respect their needs and desires. An important role for planners is to be conveners able to work with a wide range of interest groups across different cultures and values. As mentioned throughout this report, planners are expected, in particular, to serve the needs of underrepresented and disadvantaged communities (APA 2016, 1992). Planners are well positioned to influence to whom and how we ask the questions “whose place?” and “for whom?” and how we listen to those answers.

Formal Placemaking—Places

Planners are most often involved in placemaking that results in public places. This work involves formal processes and outcomes that are usually authorized and led by local governments. Other key participants can include other public agencies, private firms and developers, nonprofit groups, and community-based organizations. In addition to considering the interests and needs of the local community, formal placemaking projects also consider the local government’s long-term and large-scale goals.

Formal placemaking in the public realm is carried out by a series of conscious acts, including “branding”—the act of naming and building on the identity of a place. Cities often partner with various actors, such as private consultants, design professionals, and planners, to carry out major placemaking projects. These projects typically begin by engaging local residents, business owners, and other community stakeholders to envision, program, and design these places.

Each step adds to the overall success of the project and is taken in order. The purpose of visioning exercises is to identify a set of visions that “consciously depict a narrative future that will embody the spirit and desired direction of a place,” as articulated by participants (Larice 2018). Programming is the process of determining what purpose a space serves and what activities will be encouraged or supported. Design and aesthetic guidelines for a large project guide individual subprojects, visually and materially providing unity and cohesion.

Formal placemaking projects are often intertwined with (or described as) economic development. A frequent focus of

this type of project is tourism or retail activity, such as in waterfront or urban revitalization projects (PPS 2018). Communities that are low income, socially marginalized, and of color that have been historically neglected, and those in current states of disrepair, neglect, and underdevelopment, may find themselves the subject of placemaking projects. Opportunity for economic gains is often greatest in places with the lowest preexisting land values (Smith 1984). In these places, especially, developers and civic leaders see economic opportunity and do not always understand the fear of potential gentrification by existing residents.

To support communities of color in placemaking projects that enhance and celebrate the existing community and environment, planners can:

- Engage the local community in visioning exercises, giving space for residents to express fears, concerns, or past hurts.
- Create opportunities for local residents to suggest innovative or culturally inspired projects, uses of space, and engagement methods.
- Advocate for the development of affordable new housing, local business opportunities, and places that the existing community will want to engage with, including new shops, cultural spaces, and restaurants and cafes.
- Ensure that existing residents are given access to new housing, retail and commercial space, and other cultural or educational spaces.
- Recognize and work to understand the threat gentrification poses to low-income communities and work with them to identify projects that are meaningful and supportive to them.
- Understand the damage caused by cultural appropriation and work with communities that feel culturally threatened to carry out projects that are respectful and inclusive.

Formal Placemaking—Events

Planners also engage in formal placemaking that takes the form of social activities, often with a cultural focus. These include parades and festivals, civic events, and public art shows and “art walks” or “art strolls.” These important events bring people from various parts of the city together, enabling a sharing of cultural practices across communities. Importantly, events that bring different communities together are effective in building good relations and reducing bias across diverse communities (SPLC 2017).

Food festivals and other events focused on cultural celebrations or holidays are well attended in many places. For



Figure 5.19. Holi, the Hindu springtime “festival of colors,” as celebrated in Spanish Fork, Utah (Flickr photo/Steven Gerner (CC BY-SA 2.0))



Figure 5.20. The annual Dia de los Muertos celebration in the Los Angeles Plaza Historic District (Flickr photo/bunnacula (CC BY-ND 2.0))

example, Holi, or the springtime “festival of colors,” is a Hindu event where celebrants throw colored water and powder on each other. People around the world are joining in on this event, including in the U.S. cities of New York; Austin, Texas; and Spanish Fork, Utah (Figure 5.19). Also popular is the Dia de los Muertos, the annual Mexican celebration of the dead, with roots dating back thousands of years. Cities throughout California, Arizona, and Texas, as well as other locations in the United States, many countries in Latin America, and others around the world, join in on this multiday celebration (Figure 5.20). These types of events provide opportunities for cross-cultural exchange, the enjoyment of tasting new foods, seeing new ways to celebrate life and death, and experiencing other meaningful cultural practices.

To support formal placemaking events that are inclusive, thoughtful, and respectful, planners can:

- Inquire within communities of color about meaningful cultural practices and work with them to help propose, plan, and coordinate special public events.
- Attend events to gain inspiration and knowledge about cross-cultural and arts-based events they can then propose and carry out in their own jurisdictions.

Informal Placemaking—Organized Social Action

Community-based placemaking varies widely from community to community. It is carried out as small-scale economic, social, cultural, or political activities that create, reshape, and activate public spaces. In contrast to formal

placemaking, these “informal” activities are often small-scale, individual acts uncoordinated at the community level, though at times they may be coordinated with planners and other municipal representatives. Sometimes they are unsanctioned activities, however.

Two examples of informal placemaking activities on the more organized end of the spectrum are guerrilla urbanism and tactical urbanism. These are fine-grained, grassroots practices carried out for the explicit purpose of creating a greater sense of place and better communities. They represent a more coordinated approach than other informal activities, and thus have the potential to be more visible and more likely to bring about needed change in underserved, under-resourced neighborhoods.

Behind the politically charged acts of guerrilla urbanism is a resistance to the privatization of public space, the degradation of remaining public spaces, and the social isolation that follows the loss of shared public communion (Hou 2010). Occurring in public spaces, guerrilla urbanism describes loosely organized acts that reappraise neglected, ignored, unmonitored, and otherwise “lost” space by making these spaces useful, meaningful, and valuable again.

Though guerrilla urbanism practices vary widely, the most well-known example is “guerrilla gardening”: planting seeds or plants in public-realm space without official permission (Reynolds n.d.). The act of sowing seeds in a street median may seem benign but these are political statements first and foremost, meant to send the message that where officials choose to neglect to uphold their commitments to maintain

the public realm equitably, insurgent acts will fill the void. Guerrilla gardeners throughout the world use social media to communicate, coordinate, and educate.

Tactical urbanism, also referred to as DIY urbanism, generally refers to the temporary implementation of low-cost urban interventions to target perceived problems, experiment with solutions, and model scalable urban practices (Showalter and Chester 2015). Frequently taking on a visible presence in the public realm and aimed at turning temporary experiments into permanent interventions, tactical urbanism is often carried out with municipal permission, making this an excellent approach for planners who wish to work directly with diverse communities to find low-cost, immediate solutions that address high-priority challenges. Examples of tactical urbanism projects include pop-up bicycle lanes and “parklets” (Figure 5.21).

Planners can leverage the inspiration and energy of tactical urbanism by working with residents to create more transparent collaboration and greater trust. Three specific ways to do so are *visioning*—taking ideas and helping communities visualize and plan; *testing*—finding funds, gaining permission, and providing logistical support to realize urban experiments; and *implementation*—ensuring longevity and further implementation in cases where clear benefits have been achieved with pilot projects (Showalter and Chester 2015). Planners and community activists can find guidance in the many books and websites focused on guerrilla and tactical urbanism (see, for example, <http://tacticalurbanismguide.com> and www.planetizen.com/tag/guerrilla-urbanism).

To support informal placemaking and social activism in diverse communities, planners can:

- Peruse social media and areas in their municipalities to discover if any DIY urbanism is being practiced.
- Reach out and engage with individuals and groups to find points of connection and ways to support work that positively serves the local communities and neighborhoods.

Informal Placemaking—Individual Actions

The most informal of informal placemaking practices take many forms, but at heart comprise the everyday activities that residents carry out in the places they live to improve their day-to-day quality of life according to their cultural and social traditions. Informal placemaking may not be recognized as placemaking by planners because these practices may be unappealing or unfamiliar, occur under the cover of darkness or in marginal spaces, or blend in or be so discreet as to render them “invisible” (Kamel 2016).

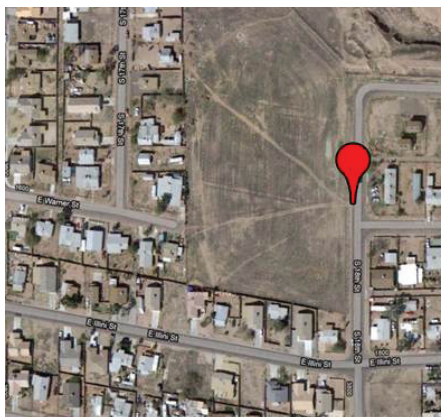


Figure 5.21. A “parklet” turns parking into public space in San Francisco (Flickr photo/Cidades para Pessoas (CC BY 2.0))

Despite the use of the term *placemaking*, which implies a festive quality, these informal urban practices are primarily survival tactics. They can be understood as responses to a broad set of structural conditions, including growing economic disparity and instability, patterns of forced or unauthorized immigration, and a loosening up of employment and business regulation (Mukhija and Loukaitou-Sideris 2014). They are often unsanctioned or unauthorized practices, which may create real costs to accompany potential benefits. People of color and immigrants carry out these informal placemaking activities to fill important economic, social, cultural, and political gaps in ways that allow them to overlap and amplify benefits for themselves and their social communities. The unfamiliar nature of informal or unsanctioned placemaking practices may make planners unsure of their value. These practices may appear to be insignificant (such as a mural on a wall) or dangerous (using a modified baby stroller as a rolling hotdog grill), inspiring under- or overreaction.

Planners are in a unique position to bridge the regulatory barriers of informal placemaking by focusing less on how these practices appear and more on how they function (Rios 2014). When practiced by people of color and immigrants, informal placemaking may appear out of place to many planners. For example, a Latino corn vendor in Phoenix selling *elotes*—a dry, chewy type of corn used to make the *masa* used for tamales and tortillas—sets up his pickup truck in an abandoned commercial lot and stays only until about midday. He uses no signage; his only customers are those that know of him by word of mouth or who stop out of curiosity (Kamel 2014). This microbusiness does not conform

*Figure 5.22. Unsanc-
tioned pedestrian paths
are an example of
informal placemaking
reconnecting a neigh-
borhood torn apart
by bulldozers (Andrea
Garfinkel-Castro)*



to formal business practices, with its lack of physical space, signs, and striped parking spaces, but it has allowed this man to provide for himself and his family.

In another example of informal placemaking, residents of a small low-income Latino neighborhood in Phoenix sought to regain wholeness after a midsection was bulldozed for redevelopment, encircled by chain-link fencing, and then left vacant (Kamel 2014). Residents pulled back sections of the fencing to cut through the massive vacant lot to shorten their walks. The paths are almost invisible, except by aerial view. The most telling aspect of the scene, seen clearly in the aerial image, is that the streets on either side of the outsized gap line up, revealing a once-whole neighborhood (Figure 5.22).

The fine-grained nature of informal placemaking practices makes walking one of the best ways to become familiar with these practices. On the ground, murals on nearly-hidden walls, guerrilla gardens on vacant lots and sidewalk medians, late-night drum circles, and neighborhood art projects can be seen, experienced, and appreciated (Figure 5.23, p. 113).

To support informal placemaking practices that address neighborhood-based problems, treat immigrants and communities of color equitably, and allow communities to participate in creating places of meaning, planners can:

- Become familiar with and known to local communities of color so as to become a recognized ally.
- Learn about the informal placemaking activities being practiced in these communities and work to understand the various economic, social, cultural, or political gaps these practices help fill.
- Identify any regulatory barriers that present legal challenges to individuals carrying out these practices.

- Identify any dangers these practices present to those carrying them out or to others.
- Find new and creative ways to regularize or legalize activities that provide benefits to individuals and communities.
- Learn about what planners in other similar situations are doing to include informal placemaking practices into city-wide programming by attending conferences and workshops, examining current publications, and networking via social media.
- Compassionately and respectfully enforce zoning or city ordinances.

CONCLUSION

If the variety of tools described in this chapter are any indication, the ways in which planners are reaching out to residents of diverse communities is rapidly expanding. Not only are planners reaching out, they are also listening, including, considering, learning about, and working with these communities in new ways to improve quality of life for generations to come. This work speaks to the quality of life planners want for all who reside in our cities, and to the important roles these residents, including people of color and immigrants, have in bringing about positive community change.

With these more inclusive and equitable approaches, planners are carrying forward a vision initiated decades ago for a planning practice that not only listened to the voices of underrepresented and less-empowered communities of our society but that also advocated for them (see, for example, Davidoff 1965; Krumholz 1982; Forester 1982). Over the ensuing decades, a tension has become embedded within planning practice that pulls in opposite directions. In one



Figure 5.23. A mural in a residential neighborhood exemplifies culturally relevant informal placemaking (Andrea Garfinkel-Castro)

direction is a practice of inclusive engagement and shared decision making, of bringing underrepresented voices to the table to accommodate and celebrate diversity and promote equity. In a different direction is a practice that sees the status quo as contributing effectively to profitable, functional cities. Another way to describe this is the tension between “official” placemakers (e.g., designers, architects, and planners) and “unofficial” placemakers (e.g., the everyday person, street vendors, and mural artists) (Rios, Vazquez, and Miranda 2012). But cultures evolve and societies change, and we should expect our cities—and the processes we use to shape our cities—to change as well.

The emphasis on inclusive planning practices is about more than political correctness or making concessions. It is about whose right it is to shape the city, because the city is central to our identity:

The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than individual right since this transformation inevitably depends on the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. (Harvey 2008, 23)

Planners can offer more than the status quo. Listening and learning can lead to more ideas, greater creativity, and shared benefits. At the core of the tools described in this chapter are ideas for working within, adapting, and revising the existing regulatory and procedural frameworks planners use so as to better address the basic needs of diverse commu-

nities: economic opportunity, mobility, housing, health and safety, and placemaking.

Better understanding the many nuanced variations in how people carry out these basic activities and how they are intricately intertwined will guide planners to work toward more effective and equitable solutions. For instance, planners can address housing cost burdens by supporting economic opportunities for people of color and immigrants who are also low income. By supporting low- or no-cost transit designed to provide the high coverage as well as the high frequency needed to get people from their homes to jobs, planners can assist transit-dependent riders in earning an income that helps keeps them housed.

Planning practices that work toward greater social, economic, and environmental equity benefit everyone (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009). With this understanding, planners can know that by working with communities of color to transform unhealthy, unsafe neighborhoods into places that are walkable, comfortable, and provide basic public health services, they are working to improve the quality of life for all their constituents, not just those neighborhood residents. By supporting placemaking practices that are inclusive, planners are sending a message of welcome that is more powerful than division (SPLC 2017; Sandoval 2012).

Planners practicing today are at the forefront of another paradigm shift, one that recognizes not only that communities vary across ethnicity and culture but that society thrives when these difference are embraced and celebrated. Looking beyond these differences, planners can seek to better understand and find the common humanity that drives everyday practices and holds our communities together.

CHAPTER 6

TOWARD A MORE DIVERSE AND EQUITABLE FUTURE

As this PAS Report has shown, the demographics in the United States are changing rapidly. Those who are in and approaching old age are mostly white, while the majority of the nation's newborns are now racially and ethnically diverse. Adult immigrants add to the diversification in America and contribute up to one-third of the U.S. population annually. The growth of racial and ethnic minorities will most likely lead to more increases in interracial and interethnic marriages. Children of diverse identities are transforming and will continue to transform America.

These demographic changes are going to be even more pronounced by the middle of the 21st century with the projected transition to a majority-minority United States by 2045. Already a number of states, regions, towns, and cities are majority-minority communities.

WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED

This report has argued for the expansion of planning as a profession further into the realm of issues facing people of color to ensure a better quality of life for all in the diverse communities of today and tomorrow. Using a number of case studies from cities around the country, the report has explored issues facing people of color in neighborhoods, cities, and metro areas, and seeks to address the distinctive needs of various minority groups.

Minorities face persistent issues of segregation, underrepresentation, and inequity, but in this report we have shown that planners have a range of tools to help embrace and support communities of color. We have also discussed how to better include, engage, and represent growing populations of people of color in planning processes. Finally, we have argued that cultural competency needs to be made more familiar to planners to help them better engage diverse populations. Below we summarize the main points we hope readers will take away from this report.

Planners Can Counter the Negative Impacts of Segregation

Even though racial integration has significantly increased in the United States over the past few decades, there are still

high levels of racial segregation between whites and people of color. This racial and ethnic segregation leads to many of the socioeconomic challenges facing people of color, including isolation, high concentrations of poverty, police violence, poor public safety, lack of affordable housing, health-based problems, inadequate public transportation, and low incomes due to poor employment opportunities.

Life opportunities and chances have never been equitably shared in the United States, with people of color prone to experiencing persistent structural inequalities. The status quo presents a particular challenge to planners and at the same time offers opportunities to remedy these inequalities. Understanding the root problems of segregation and inequity is a critical step, but there is also a need for planners to better understand the origins and institutionalized forces behind these problems so they may be in better positions to identify and act upon positive solutions.

What can planners do about place-based inequalities? They can take a dual approach. The first tactic is to invest in segregated neighborhoods. Planners can provide resources—such as social services, parks, and other amenities—to disadvantaged areas. Planners can also enable mobility between advantaged and disadvantaged regions through approaches such as school integration, transit connections, and jobs matching. Though these strategies do not directly address segregation patterns, they attempt to even out inequalities between predominately white neighborhoods and communities of color.

The second approach is to provide opportunities for people of color to live in more integrated communities. Planners can achieve this by advocating for mixed-income housing developments, housing mobility, vouchers, and income en-

hancement programs. This strategy seeks to disrupt segregation patterns. It is based on the position that segregation in the housing market and in our communities is at heart unjust, responsible for broader social inequalities in our society, and must be changed. Planners should engage in both of these strategies simultaneously.

Planners Can Give Voice to People of Color

This report has discussed some of the unique challenges that people of color face. The authors hope that understanding the problems that these communities face will help planners to intervene and give people of color stronger voices, more power, and a better quality of life.

Planners have roles to play in helping to remedy the challenges faced by people of color, particularly those that stem in part from planning-related processes, such as land-use decisions, or those that lead to place-based inequalities. Planners should hold consultative meetings that involve the communities and ensure that every action they have undertaken has been discussed and agreed upon by the community members. They should scan the environment, identify where underlying discrimination may be occurring, and come up with an approach that will involve all stakeholders.

We hope that the report has adequately illustrated some of the factors that have led to the exclusion of growing racially and ethnically diverse populations in planning processes. The report has also provided readers with ways to effectively work with racially and ethnically diverse communities. A skill that practitioners need to develop continuously is to engage, communicate, and collaborate with people of color more effectively. Planners can make the community engagement process more effective by following these guiding principles:

- Get to know your community by seeking to understand the community of interest and the space that the community of interest occupies; this can be done through an asset-based approach where planners are required to think more about the needs than the assets of a community.
- Connect with community partners by gathering information on organizations that serve diverse populations, such as churches, schools, and businesses.
- Pick appropriate planning strategies through public participation; this can be done in a stepwise approach that informs, consults, involves, collaborates with, and finally empowers these communities. It is also essential to include a variety of stakeholders—people living in, working in, and representing the given community as well as various subgroups of the population, such as age and gender.

Planners should come up with simple, practical, and actionable solutions that address specific barriers to engagement and involve people of color in the planning process, including the following:

- Conducting meetings in places served by public transportation
- Choosing places familiar to community members
- Using meeting formats and methods that are comfortable for most
- Speaking directly and clearly to community members in their language and providing translations when needed
- Scheduling dates and times for which most people can make the meeting
- Providing food, child care, gift cards, or bus passes to reduce economic burdens
- Explaining clearly the purpose of the meeting and encouraging every community member to participate actively
- Finding ways to link planning issues to residents' concerns

It is crucial for planners to carry out adequate research on the history of a place so that they can propose appropriate planning solutions that help address inequities that may have been fueled by previous planning practices. For fair and progressive planning efforts to be successfully implemented, planners should invite all stakeholders into the process and involve them in every step. The community should be involved meaningfully so that it can co-own plans.

Planners Have the Tools They Need to Improve Communities of Color

The cultural and economic diversity of newly racially and ethnically diverse places creates challenges for planners. Some of the most common challenges include nonconforming uses and code violations, conflict over the use of public areas, social services and amenity mismatches, housing affordability, social tensions, and discrimination. Fortunately, there are a range of tools available to help plan for diversity.

When working across diverse communities and economies, planners must identify and understand the priorities, values, and expectations of diversifying communities and craft, implement, and support policies and regulations that enhance the opportunities and well-being of these communities. Planners can use the formal policy tools and strategies highlighted in this report, which include the following:

- Expanding economic opportunities by supporting critical microentrepreneurship business models such as street

vending, food trucks, home-based businesses, and day-labor opportunities

- Activating mobility by addressing significant issues such as transportation costs and affordability, the frequency and coverage of public transportation systems, and the impact of these transportation systems on public health
- Offering housing options through policy-based means of adding affordable housing to communities, such as by allowing accessory dwelling units, promoting incremental housing, requiring inclusionary housing, and establishing housing trust funds, community land trusts, and and co-housing opportunities
- Enhancing placemaking through informal fixed or place-based practices (e.g., walls, interstitial spaces, vacant lots, parks), temporary or mobile practices (e.g., street or public performers, arts and crafts vendors), and formal placemaking practices (e.g., built community spaces, public events, and ongoing public projects and activities)

Planners should research the potential impacts of the demographic changes taking place in the United States on their work and use the findings to prepare plans that will promote integration and empowerment of people of color. Demography is not destiny. Being more demographically diverse doesn't immediately result in being more receptive, appreciative, and inclusive of other cultures. Planners must assume the responsibility of being prepared to work with growing ethnically and racially diverse communities today.

Planners Can Improve Their Cultural Competency

Cultural competency—which involves understanding and responding to other people's cultural values—is a vital element in planning for and with diverse communities. Cultural competency is a crucial planning skill that we hope in the future will become even more emphasized in the field of planning practice and education. Planning education, whether in planning school or continuing education, should build awareness about the importance of embracing justice, equality, and opportunity for all.

Practicing cultural competency requires constant communication and interaction with people from diverse backgrounds. For planners to work with people of color effectively, they need to familiarize themselves with the cultural diversity of their own communities. They need to leave their offices and connect with communities of color as an important first step in building vibrant and equitable cities. But planners must remember that conditions encountered in these communities might be the result of long-standing in-

equalities. When planners observe problems like poor roads and public places, environmental hazards, and inadequate amenities, they should understand the history of why things are this way.

Planners should also think about what they can do now to remedy the mistakes of the past. The lack of affordable housing today doesn't have to be the story of tomorrow. People of color should not have to live in segregated areas with high poverty rates, inferior amenities, low wages, and inadequate political representation. Planners can work to change these realities.

WHERE WE GO NEXT

The growth of minority populations has enormous implications for planning and public policy. To serve these communities, planners need to commit to diversity planning. Below are some ideas that you can take to your department heads or elected officials to address some of the issues of racial and ethnic inequality.

Cultural Competency Training

Planning education needs to prepare practitioners for serving a heterogenic society. Taking this into consideration, continuing education programs should seek to develop practitioners' awareness of the importance of implementing social justice, equality, and opportunity for all, but especially for people belonging to groups that have been historically marginalized.

Teaching cultural competency in the workplace is a common practice in many disciplines that engage with the public, such as health care, social work, and administration professions. Because of this recognition, cultural competency has been added to the codes of conduct and training provided by different social work organizations to employees.

As in social work, planning requires constant communication with people belonging to a variety of backgrounds. Similarly, teaching cultural competency in planning schools and continuing education opportunities (i.e., AICP Certification Maintenance credits) should be recognized as an essential tool for overcoming disparities in planning.

Your planning department can hire firms that provide antiracism and multicultural training. Another place to start is to talk to your local planning school and see if it could help develop continuing education courses on these topics. Planning staff can be given access to webinars, training opportunities, and conferences as part of a cultural competency initiative. Educating city leaders and staff through antiracist

and antidiscriminatory training programs can be a big step toward prioritizing racial and ethnic equity in a community.

Make a Public Declaration

Your city's or organization's commitment to racial and ethnic equity should be made known. A public declaration by the governing authorities or executive director stating that the city or organization needs to invest in communities of color is one of the first strategies that planning organizations can take to promote equity.

Simply articulating the importance of equity in communities of color can have a significant effect in normalizing racial and ethnic equity as a key value to strive for. It is crucial that planning staff and other city departments support the public declaration. On the one hand, you are educating within your organization. On the other, you are making yourself accountable to your values publicly as well as educating others outside of your organization.

Develop a Racial and Ethnic Equity Plan

One of the most important strategies that could be taken by a city regarding racial equity is to prepare an equity plan. This gives everyone in the community a chance to take part in the planning process.

Plans can be strategized after looking at previous data and hopes of residents of color. The inequities found through data analysis or policy evaluation can be addressed through a series of interventions for long-term changes.

Some basic steps to follow when creating and advancing an equity plan include the following:

1. Identify past policies that have shaped today's equity.
2. Evaluate how current policies might cause inequity.
3. Collect and analyze data using racial and ethnic equity as a framework.
4. Review best practices from other cities.
5. Change policies if they are found to be inequitable.
6. Set goals about how to address current inequities and work toward their eradication.

Robust community engagement is critical. The exercise of creating the plan enables planners to listen and respond to residents, activists, and agencies. The creation of the plan can help to foster unity between planners and community partners. It is also important to dedicate funds to plan implementation. Local governments should be willing to offer sufficient aid and support residents in the implementation process as well.

Monitor Equity Quantitatively

Decision makers should create meaningful opportunities for staff to improve their understanding of racial disparities. One approach is to collaborate with local organizations that are already making efforts to promote equity (such as churches, refugee organizations, and social service providers) to conduct surveys to understand the needs of particular communities.

The American Community Survey collects data by ethnicity and race. Planners can use this data to compare groups along different categories (e.g., home values, rents, ownership rates, unemployment rates, and others). At the local level, planners can obtain additional information by examining race and ethnicity across citations, permitting fees, code violations, inspections, and other municipal actions. Planners can use this data to understand communities of color and monitor changes from year to year and decade to decade.

Planning departments should also make the data available to the public and visualize the content on their websites. Collecting data is not enough; it is essential that data drives policymaking. The idea here is to set goals, change policies, invest in communities of color, and track progress.

Monitor Equity Qualitatively

To robustly implement a racial and ethnic equity program, city staff needs to listen to the voices that are already promoting racial equity within the community. Departments can start by convening leaders and institutions to work proactively to address racial issues. The tone could be set by holding meetings with stakeholders (e.g., nonprofits, churches, and community leaders) to learn from their perspectives on the issues affecting racial and ethnic communities.

Through interviews, focus groups, listening sessions, community meetings, and continuous engagement, planners should try to comprehend the forms of institutionalized racism that may be at play—for example, differential access to goods, services, and opportunities—as stakeholders see it. Community leaders can augment their missions of achieving equity by asking residents how they have been affected by existing policies and how to improve future programs and procedures.

Key to understanding this, however, is that what counts as relevant varies among communities and different racial and ethnic groups. Planners need to engage the communities they work in to collect and monitor qualitative data that is context-specific and addresses local conditions.

Develop a Diversity and Inclusion Task Force

To execute policies, cities need to have strong infrastructure in place and effective alignment of resources. Team building

and development of staff skills to address discrimination in local government and other institutions is of vital importance. Concerned staff members need to make coordinated efforts to ensure the success of initiatives, programs, and policies.

To help promote these efforts, cities can create diversity and inclusion task forces. The task force can address both internal and external affairs. Internally, it can oversee cultural competency training for staff and create a strategy to recruit and build a genuinely diverse workforce. Externally, it can conduct surveys or focus groups to understand the needs and wants of communities of color.

Such a task force should be composed of both city staff as well as other stakeholders, such as citywide organizations that work with people of color. This dual approach is important because planners can develop leadership skills inside and outside of their organizations as they pertain to planning with communities of color.

The task force should also be composed of a balance between white people and people of color, though a planning department should not burden people of color by giving them what could be seen as extra work. It is very common for planners of color to have the double burden of accomplishing their job description while battling institutional racism inside and outside of their organizations. The many challenges that planners of color face is further discussed in the sidebar by Giovania Tiarachristie on p. 120. Appointment to such a task force should be considered important work valued by the organization and should build leadership skills that result in career advancement.

A diverse task force is important. If task forces for engaging with people of color are composed of people of color only, further marginalization can occur. Diversity conversations need to be at the center of the organization, not at the edges. This also means that the white members of the task force should be people in leadership positions so they can hear from planners of color about best practices, engage the organization as a whole, and directly effect change.

Those in the task force can help to identify and encourage leadership among individuals engaged in the planning process. They can also volunteer to spread the word about planning as an endeavor and profession to community members, including youth, through programs such as APA Ambassadors. This program's goal is to increase awareness and understanding of the power and value that the planning profession brings to communities, with emphasis on reaching audiences of diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, and economic backgrounds. More information on the APA Ambassadors program is available at www.planning.org/ambassadors.



Figure 6.1. Seventh-grade students in Harlem learn about planning in a workshop coordinated by the APA New York Metro Chapter Diversity Committee (Kate Selden)

Planners can also work within APA's chapters and divisions to help organize outreach events to community members and youth. For example, in 2016, the APA New York Metro Chapter Diversity Committee coordinated a workshop in which seventh-grade students in Harlem learned about the impacts of land use and urban planning on neighborhood health outcomes (Figure 6.1).

FINAL THOUGHTS

Planners are ideally situated to harness the potential benefits of growing diversity in the United States. Diversity is recognized as a positive dynamic in communities of all sizes. Diverse cities and towns are arguably more innovative, economically and socially robust, competitive, and culturally tolerant.

Harnessing the benefits of diversity means cultivating places that are more inclusive, desegregated, and just. Just cities and towns are committed to creating more inclusive planning processes that result in less segregated places. These cities and towns employ a range of place-based practices to achieve these ends. Greater societal equality benefits everyone.

Achieving diverse and just cities and towns will only occur with intention. Acquiring the cultural competency skills reviewed at the beginning of this report are one way to improve the dynamics of cross-cultural communication. These skills help planners to understand differences in communication among people of color, including immigrants, and avoid misunderstandings, misinterpretations, and misreading of communication (verbal and nonverbal). Tone and intensity of verbal expression, use of silence, and indirect communication are examples of variations in communication styles that

OVERCOMING BARRIERS TO RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF PLANNERS OF COLOR

By Giovania Tiarachristie, Co-Chair, APA New York Metro Chapter Diversity Committee

In order to achieve more just and equitable communities, planners need to better understand, represent, and advocate for the constituencies most affected by injustice and inequality. Susan Fainstein, the author of *The Just City* (2011), stresses the importance of participation in decision making by relatively powerless groups to reach equity outcomes (Fainstein 2011). Perhaps the best way to achieve this purpose is to have meaningful, if not full, representation in the planning profession of the diverse people from these constituencies. Diversity and better representation enables deeper awareness and understanding of the role of race, gender, and ethnicity in social inequity and people’s everyday lives and ultimately leads to more effective processes and outcomes for diverse communities.

While several initiatives over the last 25 years have highlighted the underrepresentation of minorities in the planning profession and called for change, people of color continue to be severely underrepresented.

As shown in Figure 6.2, according to the 1990 U.S. Census, in the New York Metro Area (NYMA) non-Hispanic whites made up 78 percent of the total number of planners while comprising 58 percent of the total population. More than a decade later, American Community Survey data shows that non-Hispanic whites still made up the majority of planners—71 percent—while their proportion in the area’s population had decreased to 45 percent. While there has been a slight growth in the proportion of planners of color, their proportions relative to the general population decreased.

Communities are diversifying, but the planning profession is less representative of the communities it serves today compared to 25 years ago. Though Latino and African American planners are most likely to have grown up in similar environments to the communities (socioeconomic makeup) that they serve as planners today (Figure 6.3, p. 121), they remain especially underrepresented, with representation gaps of -5 and -18 percent, respectively.

This sidebar summarizes the findings of a 2016 study on the barriers to recruitment and retention of planners of color that offered strategies for employers, schools, planning institutions, and everyday planners to help overcome these barriers and better promote diversity. This study, conducted as part of a masters’ thesis at Pratt Institute, collected data from more than 300 surveys, 11 focus groups, and 11 one-on-one interviews with planners and employers in the NYMA to explore the state of diversity in the profession and the experiences of minority planners. For the full study, visit www.nyplanning.org/group-page/diversity.

The study identified the following barriers to recruiting for planners of color.

- **Economic injustice in communities of color.** A main barrier to diversity in the profession roots back to the racial context in the United States. Racially and economically segregated communities limit the opportunities for certain racial groups to achieve the higher-education degrees necessary to enter the planning profession.
- **Limited early exposure to good planning.** Lack of diversity in the profession today limits the knowledge of career pathways to the planning profession to white circles. Further, many communities of color have not experienced positive relations with government nor understand how planning could be a tool used to improve their communities.
- **Lack of diversity in planning programs.** In the NYMA accredited planning schools, white students made up 67 percent of the total student body in 2014 (compared to 45 percent of the general population). The

Changes in Proportions of Major Racial Groups in the General Population and Planning Profession in the New York Metro Chapter, 1990, 2000, and 2010-2014

	Year	White, non-Hispanic	Black, non-Hispanic	Asian, non-Hispanic	Hispanic/Latino
Percent of Total Population	1990	58.4	18.6	5.1	17.5
	2000	49.4	18.8	7.8	21.7
	2014	45.4	17.6	10.1	24.4
Percentage of Planners in the NY Metro Chapter Area	1990	77.6	11.6	3	7.7
	2000	73.3	10.2	8.6	6
	2010	71.2	12.8	9.6	6.8
Representation Gap ^a	1990	19.2	-7	-2.1	-9.8
	2000	23.9	-8.6	0.8	-15.7
	2010-2014	25.8	-4.8	-0.5	-17.6

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau 1990, 2000, and ACS 2010-2014; APA NY Metro Chapter Diversity Study 2000; ACS 2006-2010 EEO Tabulation.

Figure 6.2. Race and ethnicity among planners in the New York Metro Area (Tiarachristie 2016)

faculty was 81 percent white, and only 35 percent were female (Planetizen 2014). Cost is a significant barrier for those who come from lower-income backgrounds, as most planning programs in the area averaged over \$100,000 in tuition costs, while the average annual salary for a U.S. planner was \$66,940 (BLS 2014). Lack of diversity in faculty also contributes to the challenge of recruitment and retention of diverse students, while faculty members of color have expressed isolation and unequal opportunities for growth and tenure. Interviewees noted that planning academia and practice do not centralize the social justice narrative as much as urban policy, education, social work, and public health fields. Thus it often attracts fewer students of color and hence less diversity in the profession.

- **Unequal access to gaining “experience.”** Most employers said that they tend to hire those that have interned at their firm. However, as most internships are unpaid, this enables those of wealthier backgrounds (more likely to be white) to gain experience and skills, while limiting opportunities for people of color and women that may come from underprivileged backgrounds and may need to work or have family obligations.
- **Unconscious bias and colorblindness in the hiring process.** Our society has internalized a particular image of competence (white, male, and middle class), which may lead to prejudice and the perpetuation of systemic discrimination against certain groups in the hiring process. Employers talked about being “color blind” in their hiring process (claiming to deem race unimportant), but this can limit employers from understanding that people have different cultural norms and needs, and it also blinds them

Planners That Grew Up in Similar Communities to Those They Serve Today, by Race

Diversity in Planning Survey 2015

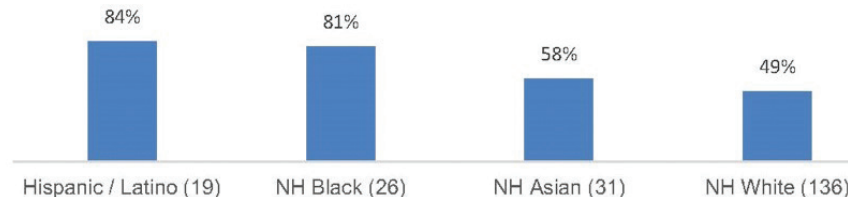


Figure 6.3. What counts as experience and qualifications anyway? (Tiarachristie 2016)

from seeing the assets that diversity brings to the process and outcomes.

The study also examined barriers to retaining planners of color. Figure 6.4 shows that white planners represent 81 percent of the private sector, 63 percent of the public sector, and 49 percent of the nonprofit sector. Many planners of color experience frustration and have left (or avoid) certain sectors altogether for the following reasons.

- **Microaggressions and discrimination fatigue.** “Microaggressions” are

subtle expressions of bias in which the aggressor often is unaware of having done any harm, but nonetheless refers to hurtful stereotypes. Participants shared that many times in the community or meetings, others have said inappropriate things to them based on their race or gender, but colleagues and supervisors often remain bystanders and don’t address the hurt and inappropriateness. White colleagues and employers interviewed expressed uncertainty in how to respond, but many planners

Racial Diversity in Planning by Sector

Diversity in Planning Survey 2015

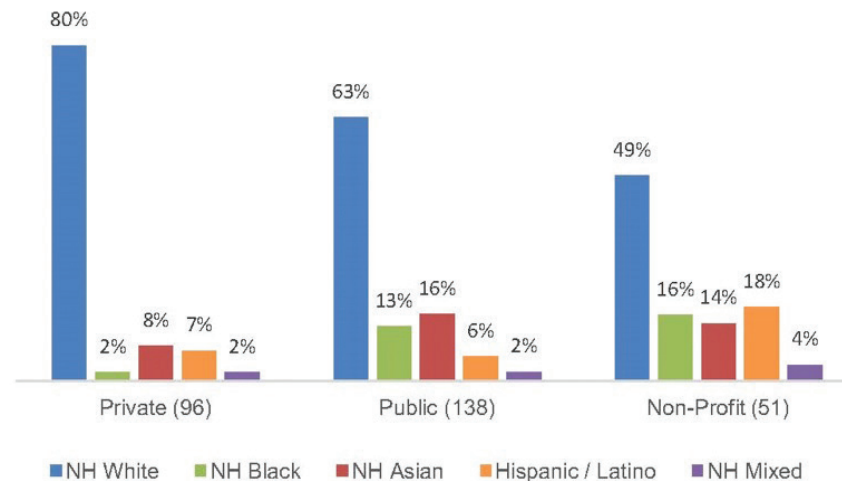


Figure 6.4. Racial diversity by sector (Tiarachristie 2016)

of color shared that silence validates such viewpoints. Over time, these microaggressions build up to cause discrimination fatigue.

- **Isolation and self-doubt.** Planners of color shared feeling a sense of isolation in being often the only, if not one of the few, people of color in a workplace, and wondered if they were there to make a company look “diverse.” People of color and women regardless of race were more likely to feel that making a mistake at work would be attributed to their identity.
- **Limitations in work opportunities.** Planners of color expressed being marginalized, typecasted, and limited in their opportunities to grow (e.g., Hispanic individuals working only with Hispanic neighborhoods, working on projects not as visible as those assigned to white counterparts, or not being assigned more senior responsibilities, such as hiring, representing the organization, or soliciting projects). Figure 6.5 shows that 72 percent of whites who answered the survey were responsible for hiring, representing the organization, and soliciting projects as compared to 45 percent of African Americans, 62 percent of Asians, and 80 percent of Latinos.

- **White patriarchal society that covertly hinders advancement.** Many planners of color shared that others often perceive their cultural values and expressions to be at odds with the markers of dominant western patriarchal culture and its association with “promoteability,” which covertly hinders the advancement of people of color and women. Most places in the United States still do not have paid parental leave or support for childcare, and this especially limits women’s ability to fully reintegrate with their career life after parental leave.
- **Prominent white planning lens.** Planners of color expressed inner conflict and frustration on the lack of acknowledgment of race, the condescending tones about communities, the policies that are based on assumptions about the poor and of people of color, and the resistance to change.

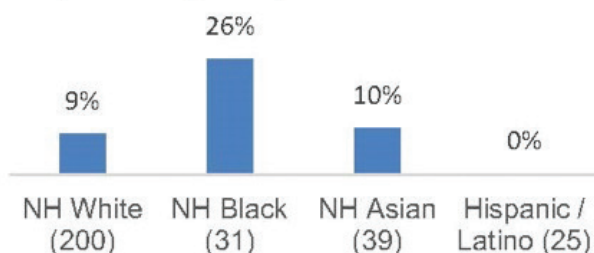
The issues identified above serve as a framework to understand and begin to overcome the barriers to recruitment and retention of diversity in the profession. They call for greater introspection of ourselves and of our profession; for greater awareness of how inequality

permeates our everyday work; and for taking proactive steps on the individual, interactional, and institutional levels to promote diversity and progress.

These barriers to diversity are structural and systemic. Doing nothing will only perpetuate planning as a predominantly white profession. Real change will require economic, political, and educational reform and the dismantling of the status quo. But planners are uniquely positioned to play a central role. Lack of diversity in the profession has been an “elephant in the room,” impossible yet so convenient to ignore. But this inconvenient change is key to enhancing planning practice to ensure that the aspiration for health, happiness, and better quality of life is achievable for all.

Position Allows for None of the Major Responsibilities

Diversity in Planning Survey 2015



Position Allows for Multiple Major Responsibilities

Diversity in Planning Survey 2015

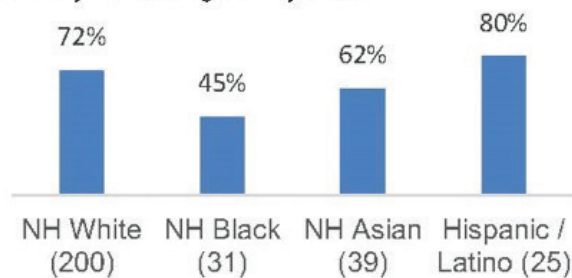


Figure 6.5. Major professional responsibilities by race (Tiarachristie 2016)

are often misread or misinterpreted due to cultural differences. Developing cultural competency skills will help planners to communicate with a broader range of cultures.

Economic opportunities, accessible transportation, affordable housing, health and safety, and community places are elements that we all need to achieve a high quality of life. Regions, cities, and human settlements, in general, allow for the distribution of these resources, and city planners can play a crucial role in creating access for individuals and communities. On too many occasions, structural discrimination and racism act as barriers to immigrants and people of color, preventing access to resources that many believe should be fundamental human rights. Planners are charged with recognizing and acting on the idea that equity and inclusion are vital in all these realms.

Recent articles in *Planning*, APA's flagship magazine, reveal an ongoing, urgent exploration of how planners can respond to changing social, economic, political, and environmental conditions. National and chapter planning conference sessions are expanding traditional offerings by adding issues of diversity and justice. Increasingly included in these conversations are women, children, LGBTQ individuals, immigrants, people of color, the homeless, and those with physical and cognitive challenges. Older ways of thinking of and planning for a single, homogenous public are being replaced by newer ways of thinking, of seeing not one but many publics. These activities are encouraging.

In this report, we have offered various strategies that planners can use to help shape policies and regulations that consider the social, cultural, and economic needs of diverse communities, particularly those struggling economically. And we have discussed fundamental ways to shift planning participation to engage a wider and more inclusive constituent base. These tools and approaches may represent an entirely new way of thinking for some of our readers. However, if you are reading this report, you are most likely already committed to advancing racial and ethnic equity. We encourage you to continue your commitment. Planners like you are needed more than ever to support, affirm, and encourage other planners in continuing their paths toward becoming more culturally competent and creating more equitable communities for everyone.

REFERENCES

- AARP. 2016. *AARP Walk Audit Tool Kit: A Step-By-Step Self-Service Guide for Assessing a Community's Walkability*. Washington, D.C.: AARP. Available at www.aarp.org/livable-communities/getting-around/info-2014/aarp-walk-audit-tool-kit.html.
- Abramian Mott, Alexandria. 2012. "DIY Speed Bumps: Traffic Control for Neighborhoods." *Los Angeles Times L.A. at Home*, July 6. Available at https://latimesblogs.latimes.com/home_blog/2012/07/traffic-slowing-methods.html.
- Abrams, Amanda. 2017. "Cohousing's Diversity Problem." *CityLab*, August 9. Available at www.citylab.com/equity/2017/08/cohausings-diversity-problem/536337.
- Abu Ghazaleh, Rana, Esther Greenhouse, George Homsy, and Mildred Warner. 2011. "Multigenerational Planning: Using Smart Growth and Universal Design to Link the Needs of Children and the Aging Population." *Family-Friendly Communities Briefing Papers 02*. Chicago: American Planning Association. Available at www.planning.org/publications/document/9148235.
- Adamy, Janet, and Paul Overberg. 2016. "Population of Nonwhites Grows." *Wall Street Journal*, June 23. Available at www.wsj.com/articles/population-of-nonwhites-grows-1466654403.
- Agyeman, Julian, Caitlin Matthews, and Hannah Sobel. 2017. *Food Trucks, Cultural Identity, and Social Justice: From Loncheras to Lobsta Love*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Alba, Richard. 2012. *Blurring the Color Line: The New Chance for a More Integrated America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Alexander, Michelle. 2010. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press.
- Allard, Scott W., and Benjamin Roth. 2010. *Strained Suburbs: The Social Service Challenges of Rising Suburban Poverty*. Metropolitan Opportunity Series. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program. Available at www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2010/10/07-suburban-poverty-allard-roth/1007_suburban_poverty_allard_roth.pdf.
- American Planning Association (APA). 1992. *Ethical Principles in Planning*. Available at www.planning.org/ethics/ethicalprinciples.
- . 2002. "How Cities Use Parks for Community Engagement." *City Parks Forum Briefing Papers*. Chicago: American Planning Association. Available at www.planning.org/publications/document/9148666.
- . 2006. *APA Policy Guide on Housing*. Available at www.planning.org/policy/guides/adopted/housing.htm.
- . 2016. *AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct*. Available at www.planning.org/ethics/ethicscode.
- . 2019. "Accessory Dwelling Units." *APA Research KnowledgeBase*. Available at www.planning.org/knowledgebase/accessorydwellings.
- American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO). 1956. *Migratory Labor Camps in the Community*. Planning Advisory Service Information Report No. 93. Available at www.planning.org/pas/reports/report93.htm.
- Anderson, Kristen, and Ellen Dektar. 2011. "Child Care and Sustainable Community Development: The Importance of Ensuring Adequate Child Care in Planning Practice." *Family-Friendly Communities Briefing Papers 01*. Chicago: American Planning Association. Available at www.planning.org/publications/document/9148231.
- Anderson, Monica. 2016. "Who Relies on Public Transit in the U.S." *Pew Research Center FactTank*, January 4. Available at www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/04/07/who-relies-on-public-transit-in-the-u-s.
- Andrews, Kenneth T., and Sarah Gaby. 2015. "Local Protest and Federal Policy: The Impact of the Civil Rights Movement on the 1964 Civil Rights Act." *Sociological Forum* 30: 509–27. Available at <http://gaby.web.unc.edu/files/2012/08/Sociological-Forum.pdf>.
- Arcury, Thomas A., and Sara A. Quandt. 2011. "Living and Working Safely: Challenges for Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers." *North Carolina Medical Journal* 72(6): 466–70. Available at www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3529146.
- Arnold, Amanda. 2018. "Dallas Cop Who Killed Botham Jean in His Apartment Has Been Indicted on Murder." *The Cut*, November 30. Available at www.thecut.com/2018/09/dallas-police-shooting-botham-jean.html.
- Arnold, Craig Anthony. 2007. *Fair and Healthy Land Use: Environmental Justice and Planning*. Planning Advisory Service Report No. 549-550. Chicago: American Planning Association.

- Arnstein, Sherry R. 1969. "A Ladder Of Citizen Participation." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35(4): 216–24. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944366908977225.
- Associated Press. 2015. "LA County Housing Agency, Palmdale, Lancaster Settle Section 8 Discrimination Case." July 20. Available at <http://losangeles.cbslocal.com/2015/07/20/la-county-housing-authority-agrees-to-2m-settlement-in-section-8-discrimination-lawsuit>.
- Axel-Lute, Miriam. 2018. "New Program Aims to Help Community Land Trusts Get to Scale." *Shelterforce*, April 27. Available at <https://shelterforce.org/2018/04/27/new-program-aims-to-help-community-land-trusts-get-to-scale>.
- Azuma, Andrea Misako, Susan Gilliland, Mark Vallianatos, and Robert Gottlieb. 2010. "Food Access, Availability, and Affordability in 3 Los Angeles Communities, Project CAFE, 2004–2006." *Preventing Chronic Disease* 7(2): A27. Available at http://scholar.oxy.edu/uep_faculty/403.
- Badouin, Richard, ed. 2011. *Ku Klux Klan: A History of Racism*. 6th ed. Klanwatch Project, Southern Poverty Law Center. Available at www.splcenter.org/20110228/ku-klux-klan-history-racism.
- Barrio, Concepción, Lawrence A. Palinkas, Ann-Marie Yamada, Dahlia Fuentes, Vivian Criado, Piedad Garcia, and Dilip V. Jeste. 2008. "Unmet Needs for Mental Health Services for Latino Older Adults: Perspectives from Consumers, Family Members, Advocates, and Service Providers." *Community Mental Health Journal* 44(1): 57–74. Available at www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2552995.
- Baum-Snow, Nathaniel, and Daniel Hartley. 2015. "Demographic Changes in and near US Downtowns." Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland. Available at www.clevelandfed.org/newsroom-and-events/publications/economic-trends/2015-economic-trends/et-20150605-demographic-changes-in-and-near-us-downtowns.aspx.
- Beale, Henry B.R. 2004. *Home-Based Business and Government Regulation*. U.S. Small Business Administration Office of Advocacy. Available at www.sba.gov/sites/default/files/Home%20Based%20Business%20and%20Government%20Regulation.pdf.
- Beals, Joel. 2018. "Farmworkers in the United States." MHP Salud. Available at <https://mhpsalud.org/who-we-serve/farmworkers-in-the-united-states>.
- Bedard, Paul. 2017. "Census: Minority Youth over Take Whites in 2020, 50% under 18." *Washington Examiner*, January 8. Available at www.washingtonexaminer.com/census-minority-youth-over-take-whites-in-2020-50-under-18.
- Berke, Philip, John Thomas Cooper, Jr., David Salvesen, Danielle Spurlock, and Christina Rausch. 2010. "Building Capacity for Disaster Resiliency in Six Disadvantaged Communities." *Sustainability* 3(1): 1–20. Available at www.researchgate.net/publication/49595666_Building_Capacity_for_Disaster_Resiliency_in_Six_Disadvantaged_Communities.
- Berube, Alan, and Elizabeth Kneebone. 2011. "Parsing U.S. Poverty at the Metropolitan Level." *The Avenue*, September 22. Brookings Institution. Available at www.brookings.edu/blogs/the-avenue/posts/2011/09/22-metro-poverty-berube-kneebone.
- Bezalel, Ronit. 2016. *70 Acres in Chicago*. Chicago: Ronitfilms.
- Bialik, Kristen. 2018. "ICE Immigration Arrests Increased in 2017." *Pew Research Center FactTank*, February 8. Available at www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/02/08/ice-arrests-went-up-in-2017-with-biggest-increases-in-florida-northern-texas-oklahoma.
- Black, Charles L. 1960. "The Lawfulness of the Segregation Decisions." *The Yale Law Journal* 69(3): 421–30. Available at https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/2586.
- Blalock, Hubert M. 1973. *Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations*. New York: Perigee.
- Bleasdale, Tommy, Carolyn Crouch, and Sharon L. Harlan. 2011. "Community Gardening in Disadvantaged Neighborhoods in Phoenix, Arizona: Aligning Programs with Perceptions." *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development* 1(3): 1–16. Available at <https://foodsystemsjournal.org/index.php/fsj/article/view/43>.
- Block, Jason P., Richard A. Scribner, and Karen B. DeSalvo. 2004. "Fast Food, Race/Ethnicity, and Income: A Geographic Analysis." *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 27(3): 211–17. Available at [www.ajpmonline.org/article/S0749-3797\(04\)00139-4/fulltext](http://www.ajpmonline.org/article/S0749-3797(04)00139-4/fulltext).
- Bolin, Bob, Sara Grineski, and Timothy Collins. 2005. "The Geography of Despair: Environmental Racism and the Making of South Phoenix, Arizona, USA." *Human Ecology Review* 12(5): 156–68. Available at www.humanecologyreview.org/pastissues/her122/boilingrineskicollins.pdf.
- Boone, Christopher G. 2008. "Environmental Justice as a Process and New Avenues for Research." *Environmental Justice* 1(3): 149–53. Available at www.liebertpub.com/doi/10.1089/env.2008.0530.
- Brooks, David. 2012. *The Social Animal: The Hidden Sources of Love, Character, and Achievement*. Reprint ed. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks.
- Brown, Jeffrey R., and Gregory L. Thompson. 2009. *The Influence of Service Planning Decision on Rail Transit Success or Failure*. San Jose, Calif.: Mineta Transportation Institute. Available at <https://transweb.sjsu.edu/research/influence-service-planning-decisions-rail-transit-success-or-failure>.
- Browne, Ginny, Will Dominie, and Kate Mayerson. 2014. "'Keep Your Wheels On': Mediating Informality in the Food Cart Industry." In *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks and Day Labor*, edited by Vinit Mukhija and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, pp. 243–60. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qf82x.17.

- Buchanan, Larry, Ford Fessenden, K.K. Rebecca Lai, Haeyoun Park, Alicia Parlapiano, Archie Tse, et al. 2015. "What Happened in Ferguson?" *The New York Times*, August 10. Available at www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/08/13/us/ferguson-missouri-town-under-siege-after-police-shooting.html.
- Bullard, Robert D. 1983. "Solid Waste Sites and the Black Houston Community." *Sociological Inquiry* 53(2-3): 273-88. Available at <https://online.library.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1983.tb00037.x>.
- Burayidi, Michael A. 2000. "Urban Planning as a Multicultural Canon." In *Urban Planning in a Multicultural Society*, edited by Michael A. Burayidi, pp. 1-14. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers.
- Burayidi, Michael A., and Abby Wiles. 2015. "Majority-Minority Cities: What Can They Teach Us about the Future of Planning Practice?" In *In Cities and the Politics of Difference: Multiculturalism and Diversity in Urban Planning*, edited by Michael A. Burayidi, pp. 193-213. Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press.
- Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). 2014. "Occupational Outlook Handbook, Urban and Regional Planners." Available at www.bls.gov/ooh/life-physical-and-social-science/urban-and-regional-planners.htm.
- . 2017. "Foreign-Born Workers: Labor Force Characteristics." News Release, May 17. Available at www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/forbrn.pdf.
- Carmon, Naomi. 1997. "Neighborhood Regeneration: The State of the Art." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 17(2): 131-44. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0739456X9701700204>.
- Cashin, Sheryll. 2005. *The Failures of Integration: How Race and Class Are Undermining the American Dream*. New York: PublicAffairs.
- Cecil, Katherine. 2009. "Race, Representation, and Recovery: Documenting the 2006 New Orleans Mayoral Elections." University of New Orleans Theses and Dissertations 972. New Orleans: University of New Orleans. Available at <https://scholarworks.uno.edu/td/972>.
- Census Data Mapper. 2010. "Map of Estimated Percent of People Foreign Born." Available at <https://datamapper.geo.census.gov/map.html>.
- Center for Community Change. 2016. *Opening Doors to Homes for All: The 2016 Housing Trust Fund Survey Report*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Community Change. Available at https://housingtrustfundproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/HTF_Survey-Report-2016-final.pdf.
- Center for Responsible Lending. 2011. *The State of Lending in America & Its Impact on U.S. Households*. Available at www.responsiblelending.org/state-of-lending/State-of-Lending-report-1.pdf.
- Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. 2017. "Housing Choice Voucher Fact Sheets." Available at www.cbpp.org/housing-choice-voucher-fact-sheets.
- Cepla, Zuzana. 2018. "Fact Sheet: Temporary Protected Status." National Immigration Forum, October 12. Available at <https://immigrationforum.org/article/fact-sheet-temporary-protected-status>.
- Chapple, Karen. 2015. *Planning Sustainable Cities and Regions*. New York: Routledge.
- Charlotte[NorthCarolina]DepartmentofTransportation(DOT).2017."Paint the Pavement." Available at https://charlottenc.gov/civinnovat/placemaking/Documents/PaintthePavement_with%20Attachments.pdf.
- Chen, Anthony S., and Robin Phinney. 2004. "Did the Civil Rights Movement Have a Direct Impact on Public Policy? Evidence from the Passage of State Fair Housing Laws, 1959-1965." Working Paper No. 04-005, Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. Available at <http://fordschool.umich.edu/research/papers/PDFfiles/04-005.pdf>.
- Chen, Qian, Charisma Acey, and Jesus J. Lara. 2015. "Sustainable Futures for Linden Village: A Model for Increasing Social Capital and the Quality of Life in an Urban Neighborhood." *Sustainable Cities and Society* 14 (February): 359-73. Available at www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2210670714000304.
- Cintrón, R., M. Toro-Morn, I. García Zambrana, and E. Scott. 2012. *60 Years of Migration: Puerto Ricans in Chicagoland*. Chicago: The Puerto Rican Agenda. Available at www.researchgate.net/publication/327426837_60_Years_of_Migration_Puerto_Ricans_in_Chicagoland.
- Cobb, Jelani. 2016. "The Matter of Black Lives: A New Kind of Movement Found Its Moment. What Will Its Future Be?" *The New Yorker*, March 14. Available at www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/03/14/where-is-black-lives-matter-headed.
- Cohn, D'Vera. 2014. "Are Minority Births the Majority Yet?" *Pew Research Center FactTank*, June 4. Available at www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/04/are-minority-births-the-majority-yet.
- Cohn, D'Vera, and Jeffrey S. Passel. 2018. "A Record 64 Million Americans Live in Multigenerational Households." *Pew Research Center Fact-Tank*, April 5. Available at www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/04/05/a-record-64-million-americans-live-in-multigenerational-households/.
- Colby, Sandra L., and Jennifer M. Ortman. 2015. "Projections of the Size and Composition of the U.S. Population: 2014 to 2060." *Current Population Reports*. U.S. Census Bureau. Available at <https://census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2015/demo/p25-1143.pdf>.
- Connerly, Charles E. 1993. "A Survey and Assessment of Housing Trust Funds in the United States." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 59(3): 306-19. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944369308975882.

- Connolly, N.D.B. 2016. *A World More Concrete: Real Estate and the Remaking of Jim Crow South Florida*. Reprint ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cozens, Paul, and Terence Love. 2015. "A Review and Current Status of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)." *Journal of Planning Literature* 30(4): 1–20. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0885412215595440>.
- Creighton, James L. 2005. *The Public Participation Handbook: Making Better Decisions Through Citizen Involvement*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Cross, Terry L., Barbara J. Bazron, Karl W. Dennis, and Mareasa R. Isaacs. 1989. *Towards a Culturally Competent System of Care: A Monograph on Effective Services for Minority Children Who Are Severely Emotionally Disturbed*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University. Available at <https://archive.org/details/towardsculturally00un/page/n1>.
- Currie, Graham, and Ian Wallis. 2008. "Effective Ways to Grow Urban Bus Markets—A Synthesis of Evidence." *Journal of Transport Geography* 16(6): 419–29. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2008.04.007>.
- Davidoff, Paul. 1965. "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31(4): 331–38. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944366508978187.
- Dawkins, Casey. 2011. *Exploring the Spatial Distribution of Low Income Housing Tax Credit Properties*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Available at www.huduser.gov/publications/pdf/dawkins_exploringliht_assistedhousingrcr04.pdf.
- Delgadillo, Natalie. 2017. "The Neighborhood That Went to War Against Gentrifiers." *CityLab*, March 1. Available at www.citylab.com/housing/2017/03/the-neighborhood-that-went-to-war-against-gentrifiers/518181.
- Diaz, David R. 2012. "Barrios and Planning Ideology: The Failure of Suburbia." In *Latino Urbanism: The Politics of Planning, Policy, and Redevelopment*, edited by David R. Diaz and Rodolfo D. Torres, pp. 21–46. New York: New York University Press. Available at <http://nyu.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.18574/nyu/9780814784044.001.0001/upso-9780814784044>.
- Diehl, Richard A. 1983. *Tula: The Toltec Capital of Ancient Mexico*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- Dokko, Jane, Megan Mumford, and Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach. 2015. *Workers and the Online Gig Economy: A Hamilton Project Framing Paper*. Washington, D.C.: The Hamilton Project. Available at www.hamiltonproject.org/assets/files/workers_and_the_online_gig_economy.pdf.
- Donelson, Angela J., and Adrian X. Esparza, eds. 2010. *The Colonias Reader: Economy, Housing, and Public Health in U.S.–Mexico Border Colonias*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Downs, Anthony. 1973. *Opening Up the Suburbs: Urban Strategy for America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI). 2018. "Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative." Available at www.dsni.org.
- Dunham, Roger G., and Nick Petersen. 2017. "Making Black Lives Matter: Evidence-Based Policies for Reducing Police Bias in the Use of Deadly Force." *Criminology and Public Policy* 16(1): 341–48. Available at www.researchgate.net/publication/313447006_Making_Black_Lives_Matter_Evidence-Based_Policies_for_Reducing_Police_Bias_in_the_Use_of_Deadly_Force.
- Durst, Noah J., and Jake Wegmann. 2017. "Informal Housing in the United States." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 41(2): 282–97. Available at <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/1468-2427.12444>.
- Eason, John M. 2017. *Big House on the Prairie: Rise of the Rural Ghetto and Prison Proliferation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Emerson, Pam, and Jeffrey Hou. 2012. "17th and South Jackson: Relocating Casa Latina and Navigating Cultural Crossroads in Seattle." In *Diálogos: Placemaking in Latino Communities*, edited by Michael Rios and Leonardo Vazquez, with Lucrezia Miranda, pp. 186–201. New York: Routledge.
- Esparza, Adrian X., and Angela J. Donelson. 2008. *Colonias in Arizona and New Mexico: Border Poverty And Community Development Solutions*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Evans, Ivan. 2009. *Cultures of Violence: Lynching and Racial Killing in South Africa and the American South*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation. 2017. *2017 Kauffman Index of Start-up Activity*. Kansas City, Mo.: Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation. Available at www.kauffman.org/kauffman-index/reporting/~media/9f685e8c214248f0884fa21416f6b03e.ashx.
- Executive Office of the President. 2017. "Executive Order: Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States." The White House, January 25. Available at www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-enhancing-public-safety-interior-united-states.
- Fainstein, Susan S. 2011. *The Just City*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Families USA. 2018. "Federal Poverty Guidelines." July. Available at <https://familiesusa.org/product/federal-poverty-guidelines>.
- Fan, Yingling, Andrew Guthrie, and David Levinson. 2012. "Impact of Light-Rail Implementation on Labor Market Accessibility: A Transportation Equity Perspective." *The Journal of Transport and Land Use* 5(3): 28–39. Available at <http://hdl.handle.net/11299/180033>.

- Farber, Steven, Melinda Z. Morang, and Michael J. Widener. 2014. "Temporal Variability in Transit-Based Accessibility to Supermarkets." *Applied Geography* 53: 149–59. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2014.06.012>.
- Farm Aid. 2018. "Immigration and the Food System." *Farm Aid Blog*, August 24. Available at www.farmaid.org/blog/immigration-and-the-food-system.
- Feagin, Joe R. 2013. *The White Racial Frame: Centuries of Racial Framing and Counter-Framing*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council (FFIEC). 2012. "HMDA & PMIC Data Products." Available at <https://www.ffiec.gov/hmda/hmdaproducts.htm>.
- Federal Highway Administration (FHWA). 2011. "Fruitvale Transit Village Project." Available at www.fhwa.dot.gov/environment/environmental_justice/case_studies/case6.cfm.
- . 2013. "Hispanic Pedestrian and Bicyclist Safety." Available at https://safety.fhwa.dot.gov/ped_bike/hispanic.
- Feldman, Daniel C., and Thomas W. Gainey. 1997. "Patterns of Telecommuting and Their Consequences: Framing the Research Agenda." *Human Resource Management Review* 7(4): 369–88. Available at www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S1053482297900255.
- Fieder, Martin, and Susanne Huber. 2016. "The Association Between Religious Homogamy and Reproduction." *Proceedings of the Royal Society B*, 283: 20160294. Available at <https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/10.1098/rspb.2016.0294>.
- Forester, John. 1982. "Planning in the Face of Power." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 48(1): 67–80. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944368208976167.
- . 1999. *The Deliberative Practitioner: Encouraging Participatory Planning Processes*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Frankenberg, Erica. 2013. "The Role of Residential Segregation in Contemporary School Segregation." *Education and Urban Society* 45(5): 548–70. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0013124513486288>.
- Frey, William H. 2011. *Melting Pot Cities and Suburbs: Racial and Ethnic Change in Metro America in the 2000s*. Washington, D.C.: Metropolitan Policy Program, Brookings Institution. Available at www.brookings.edu/research/melting-pot-cities-and-suburbs-racial-and-ethnic-change-in-metro-america-in-the-2000s.
- . 2014. *Diversity Explosion: How New Racial Demographics Are Remaking America*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- . 2018. "The US Will Become 'Minority White' in 2045, Census Projects." *The Avenue*, March 14. Available at www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2018/03/14/the-us-will-become-minority-white-in-2045-census-projects.
- Friedman, Gerald C. 2014. "Workers Without Employers: Shadow Corporations and the Rise of the Gig Economy." *Review of Keynesian Economics* 2(2): 171–88. Available at https://econpapers.repec.org/article/elgrokejn/v_3a2_3ay_3a2014_3ai_3a2_3ap171-188.htm.
- Frommer, Robert, Erin Norman, Bert Gall, and Lisa Knepper. 2011. *Streets of Dreams: How Cities Can Create Economic Opportunity by Knocking Down Protectionist Barriers to Street Vending*. Arlington, Va.: Institute for Justice. Available at www.ij.org/images/pdf_folder/economic_liberty/atl_vending/streetsofdreams_webfinal.pdf.
- Fullilove, Mindy T. 2005. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*. New York: One World/Ballantine.
- Fulton, Sybrina, and Tracy Martin. 2017. *Rest in Power: The Enduring Life of Trayvon Martin*. New York: Spiegel & Grau.
- García, Ivis. 2014. "Making the Case for Change: Report Series." Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement and the Illinois Latino Family Commission. Chicago: Tampico Press.
- . 2015. "The Puerto Rican Business District as a Community Strategy for Resistance Gentrification in Chicago." *PLERUS* 25(1): 79–98.
- . 2017a. "First Street Mural in Utah." *Utah Planner* 44(6): 4–6. Available at https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/9464d2_5ec000182d694f528a9ec84611fbf239.pdf.
- . 2017b. "Learning about Neighborhood Identity, Streets as Places, and Community Engagement in a Chicago Studio Course." *Transformations: The Journal of Inclusive Scholarship and Pedagogy* 27(2): 142–57. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/10.5325/trajincschped.27.2.0142.
- . 2018. "Symbolism, Collective Identity, and Community Development." *Societies* 8(3): 81. Available at www.mdpi.com/2075-4698/8/3/81/pdf.
- García, Ivis, and Mérida M. Rúa. 2017. "'Our Interests Matter': Puerto Rican Older Adults in the Age of Gentrification." *Urban Studies* 55(14): 3168–84. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0042098017736251>.
- García Zambrana, Ivis. 2017. "Street Murals in Utah." *Congress for the New Urbanism, Utah Chapter Blog*. Available at <https://cnuutah.org/blog-news/23-street-murals-in-utah>.
- Gehl, Jan. 2010. *Cities for People*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Ginzburg, Rebeca M. 2015. "Altering 'Family': Another Look at the Supreme Court's Narrow Protection of Families in *Belle Terre*." *Boston University Law Review* 83(4): 875–97. Available at <https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/bulr83&div=32&id=&page=>.

- Giuliano, Genevieve. 2005. "Low Income, Public Transit, and Mobility." *Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board* 1927(1): 63–70. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361198105192700108>.
- Giusti, Cecilia, and Miriam Olivares. 2012. "Latinos and Incremental Construction: A Case Study of Texas Colonias." In *Diálogos: Placemaking in Latino Communities*, edited by Michael Rios and Leonardo Vazquez, with Lucrezia Miranda, pp. 98–110. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Giusti, Cecilia, and Luis Estevez. 2011. "Microlending for Housing in the United States: A Case Study in Colonias in Texas." *Habitat International* 35(2): 307–15. Available at www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0197397510000706.
- Goetz, Edward G. 2003. *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. Washington, D.C.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- . 2013. *New Deal Ruins: Race, Economic Justice, and Public Housing Policy*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Goodyear, Sarah. 2014. "A DIY Approach to Slowing a City's Cars." *City Lab*, March 18. Available at www.citylab.com/transportation/2014/03/heres-diy-approach-slowng-citys-cars/8661.
- Gordon, Cynthia, Marnie Purciel-Hill, Nirupa R. Ghai, Leslie Kaufman, Regina Graham, and Gretchen Van Wye. 2011. "Measuring Food Deserts in New York City's Low-Income Neighborhoods." *Health & Place* 17(2): 696–700. Available at www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S1353829210001905.
- Gotham, Kevin Fox. 2008. "Urban Space, Restrictive Covenants and the Origins of Racial Residential Segregation in a US City, 1900–50." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24(3): 616–33. Available at www.researchgate.net/publication/4753955_Urban_Space_Restrictive_Covenants_and_the_Origins_of_Racial_Residential_Segregation_in_a_US_City_1900-50.
- Gould, Stephen Jay. 1994. "Curveball." *The New Yorker*, November 28. Available at www.dartmouth.edu/~chance/course/topics/curveball.html.
- Governing. 2019. "High School Graduation Rates by States." Available at www.governing.com/gov-data/high-school-graduation-rates-by-state.html.
- Goyette, Braden, and Alissa Scheller. 2014. "15 Charts That Show the U.S. Isn't Over Racism." *The Huffington Post, Black Voices*, July 2. Updated December 6, 2017. Available at https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/02/civil-rights-act-anniversary-racism-charts_n_5521104.html.
- Gray-O'Connor, Jen. 2015. "Fruitvale Transit Village." *Critical Sustainableabilities*, June 1. Available at <https://critical-sustainableabilities.ucsc.edu/fruitvale-transit/>.
- Green, Penelope. 2012. "Under One Roof, Building for Extended Families." *The New York Times*, November 29. Available at www.nytimes.com/2012/11/30/us/building-homes-for-modern-multigenerational-families.html.
- Green, Terrance, Joanna Sánchez, and Emily Germain. 2017. "Communities and School Ratings: Examining Geography of Opportunity in an Urban School District Located in a Resource-Rich City." *Urban Review: Issues and Ideas in Public Education* 49(5): 777–804. Available at <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11256-017-0421-1>.
- Greenlee, Andrew Jordan. 2011. "A Different Lens: Administrative Perspectives on Portability in Illinois' Housing Choice Voucher Program." *Housing Policy Debate* 21(3): 377–403. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10511482.2011.591409.
- Greenstein, Rosalind, and Yesim Sungu-Eryilmaz. 2005. "Community Land Trusts: Leasing Land for Affordable Housing." *Land Lines* 17(2): 8–10. Available at www.lincolnst.edu/publications/articles/community-land-trusts.
- Greico, Elizabeth M., Yesenia D. Acosta, G. Patricia de la Cruz, Christine Gambino, Thomas Gryn, Luke J. Larsen, Edward N. Trevelyan, and Nathan P. Walters. 2012. "The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2010." American Community Survey Reports ACS-19. U.S. Census Bureau. Available at www2.census.gov/library/publications/2012/acs/acs-19.pdf.
- Griffin, Greg. 2017. "Connecting the Dots: Linking Bike Share with Transit—While Considering Equity Issues—Requires a Big-Picture Approach." *Planning*, April. Available at www.planning.org/planning/2017/apr/connectingdots.
- Griffin, Greg P., and Ipek N. Sener. 2016. "Planning for Bike Share Connectivity to Rail Transit." *Journal of Public Transportation* 19(2): 1–22. Available at <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/jpt/vol19/iss2/1>.
- Guerette, Rob T. 2007. "Disorder at Day Laborer Sites." Center for Problem-Oriented Policing Guide No. 44. Available at www.popcenter.org/problems/day_labor_sites.
- Gunier, Robert B., Andrew Hertz, Julie von Behren, and Peggy Reynolds. 2003. "Traffic Density in California: Socioeconomic and Ethnic Differences among Potentially Exposed Children." *Journal of Exposure Science and Environmental Epidemiology* 13(3): 240–46. Available at www.researchgate.net/publication/7297113_Traffic_density_in_California_Socioeconomic_and_ethnic_differences_among_potentially_exposed_children.
- Gwynn, R. Charon, and George D. Thurston. 2001. "The Burden of Air Pollution: Impacts Among Racial Minorities." *Environmental Health Perspectives* 109(Supplement 4): 501–6. Available at <https://cfpub.epa.gov/ncer/abstracts/index.cfm/fuseaction/display.files/fileID/13023>.

- Haddock, Robert L., Helen J.D. Whippy, Rebecca J. Talon, and Melani V. Montano. 2009. "Ethnic Disparities in Cancer Incidence among Residents of Guam." *Asian Pacific Journal of Cancer Prevention: APJCP* 10(1): 57–62. Available at www.researchgate.net/publication/26241127_Ethnic_Disparities_in_Cancer_Incidence_among_Residents_of_Guam.
- Hall, Peter. 1989. "The Turbulent Eighth Decade: Challenges to American City Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 55(3): 275–82. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944368908975415.
- Harjo, Laura. 2006. "GIS Support for Empowering the Marginalized Community: The Cherokee Nation Case Study." In *GIS for Sustainable Development*, edited by Michele Campagna, pp. 433–49. New York: Taylor and Francis.
- Harlan, Sharon L., Anthony J. Brazel, Lela Prashad, William L. Stefanov, Larissa Larsen. 2006. "Neighborhood Microclimates and Vulnerability to Heat Stress." *Social Science & Medicine* 63(2006): 2847–63. Available at <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/aef3/0ed67d4dee3ef9b157be7936f85e41dc6f97.pdf>.
- Harris, Anita. 2012. *Young People and Everyday Multiculturalism*. New York: Routledge.
- Hartman, Chester, and Gregory Squires, eds. 2009. *The Integration Debate: Competing Futures For American Cities*. New York: Routledge.
- Harvey, David. 2008. "The Right to the City." *The New Left Review* 53(September–October): 23–40. Available at <https://newleftreview.org/II/53/david-harvey-the-right-to-the-city>.
- Harwood, Stacy Anne. 2005. "Struggling to Embrace Difference in Land-Use Decision Making in Multicultural Communities." *Planning Practice & Research* 20(4): 355–71. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02697450600766746.
- . 2012. "Planning in the Face of Anti-Immigrant Sentiment: Latino Immigrants and Land Use Conflicts in Orange County, California." In *Diálogos: Placemaking in Latino Communities*, edited by Michael Rios and Leonardo Vazquez, with Lucrezia Miranda, pp. 36–49. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Hendrickson, Deja, Chery Smith, and Nicole Eikenberry. 2006. "Fruit and Vegetable Access in Four Low-Income Food Deserts Communities in Minnesota." *Agriculture and Human Values* 23(3): 371–83. Available at <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10460-006-9002-8>.
- Henry, Meghan, Rian Watt, Lily Rosenthal, and Azim Shivji. 2017. *The 2017 Annual Homeless Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress: Part 1: Point-in-Time Estimates of Homelessness*. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Community Planning and Development. Available at www.hudexchange.info/resources/documents/2017-AHAR-Part-1.pdf.
- Herbert, Christopher E., Daniel T. McCue, and Rocio Sanchez-Moyano. 2013. "Is Homeownership Still an Effective Means of Building Wealth for Low-Income and Minority Households? (Was It Ever?)" Paper presented at *Homeownership Built to Last: Lessons from the Housing Crisis on Sustaining Homeownership for Low-Income and Minority Families—A National Symposium*, April 1–2, 2013, Harvard Business School, Boston. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Joint Center for Housing Studies. Available at www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/hbtl-06.pdf.
- Hernandez, Trish, Susan Gabbard, and Daniel Carroll. 2016. *Findings from the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) 2013–2014: A Demographic and Employment Profile of United States Farmworkers*. U.S. Department of Labor. Available at www.doleta.gov/agworker/pdf/NAWS_Research_Report_12_Final_508_Compliant.pdf.
- Herrnstein, Richard J., and Charles Murray. 1996. *Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*. New York: Free Press.
- Hilfiker, David. 2003. *Urban Injustice: How Ghettos Happen*. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Hillier, Amy E. 2003. "Redlining and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation." *Journal of Urban History* 29(4): 394–420. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0096144203029004002>.
- Hipple, Steven F., and Laura A. Hammond. 2016. "Self-Employment in the United States." *Spotlight on Statistics*, March. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Available at www.bls.gov/spotlight/2016/self-employment-in-the-united-states/pdf/self-employment-in-the-united-states.pdf.
- Hodgson, Kimberley, and Kelly A. Beavers. 2011. "Community Heritage and Culture: How the Arts and Cultural Sector Strengthen Cultural Values and Preserve Heritage and History." *Arts and Culture Briefing Papers* 02. Chicago: American Planning Association. Available at www.planning.org/publications/document/9147998.
- Holmes, Tisha. 2014. "A Review of Climate Change Vulnerability Assessments in Trinidad & Tobago." Working Paper for Inter-American Development Bank. Trinidad & Tobago Institute of Marine Affairs.
- Hou, Jeffrey. 2010. "(Not) Your Everyday Public Space." In *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*, edited by Jeffrey Hou, pp. 1–18. New York: Routledge.
- Housing Assistance Council (HAC). 2011. *Housing Conditions for Farm Workers*. Washington, D.C.: Housing Assistance Council. Available at www.ruralhome.org/storage/documents/rpts_pubs/ts10-farmworkers.pdf.
- Housing Trust Fund Project (HTFP). 2018a. "What are Housing Trust Funds?" Available at <https://housingtrustfundproject.org>.
- . 2018b. "HTF Elements." Available at <https://housingtrustfundproject.org/htf-elements>.

- Husain, Nausheen. 2018. "Laquan McDonald Timeline: The Shooting, The Video and the Verdict." *The Chicago Tribune*, October 5. Available at www.chicagotribune.com/news/laquanmcdonald/ct-graphics-laquan-mcdonald-officers-fired-timeline-htmlstory.html.
- Huso, Deborah. 2015. "Mayhem in Multifamily?" *Realtor Magazine*, June 9. Available at <http://realtormag.realtor.org/commercial/feature/article/2015/06/mayhem-in-multifamily>.
- Iceland, John, and Gregory Sharp. 2013. "White Residential Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Conceptual Issues, Patterns, and Trends from the US Census, 1980 to 2010." *Population Research and Policy Review* 32(5). Available at www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3811941.
- Iglesias, Tim. 2012. "Moving Beyond Two-Person-Per-Bedroom: Revitalizing Application of the Federal Fair Housing Act to Private Residential Occupancy Standards." *Georgia State University Law Review* 28(3): 619–720. Available at <https://readingroom.law.gsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2668&context=gsulr>.
- Innes, Judith E., and David E. Booher. 2010. *Planning with Complexity: An Introduction to Collaborative Rationality for Public Policy*. New York: Routledge.
- International Association for Public Participation (IAP2). 2018. "International Association for Public Participation." Available at www.iap2.org.
- Irazábal, Clara. 2012. "Beyond 'Latino New Urbanism': Advocating Ethnurbanisms." *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 5(2–3): 241–68. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17549175.2012.701817.
- Jackson, April. 2015. "Best Laid Plans: Implementing Chicago's Renewal of Three HOPE VI Developments." Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago.
- Jackson, April, Marla Parker, Lisa Turner DeVera, Ivis García Zambrana, Tisha Holmes, Ellen Shiau, and Christina Medina. 2018. "Moving the Needle: Early Findings on Faculty Approaches to Integrate Culturally Competent Pedagogy into Educational Spaces." *EJournal of Public Affairs* 7(2). Available at www.ejournalofpublicaffairs.org/moving-the-needle.
- Kahne, Juliet. 2015. "Does Placemaking Cause Gentrification? It's Complicated." November 2. New York: Project for Public Spaces. Available at www.pps.org/article/gentrification.
- Kamel, Nabil. 2014. "Learning from the Margins: Placemaking Tactics." In *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks and Day Labor*, edited by Vinit Mukhija and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, pp. 119–36. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qf82x.17.
- . 2016. "Clandestine Urbanization: Reconstituting Urban Space in the Margins of the Phoenix Metropolitan Area." *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 9(1): 39–50. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17549175.2014.990914.
- Kapell, Hannah, Peter Katon, Amy Koski, Jingping Li, Colin Price, and Karen Thalhammer. 2008. *Food Cartology: Rethinking Urban Spaces*. Portland, Ore.: Urban Vitality Group. Available at www.portlandoregon.gov/bps/article/200738.
- Keightley, Mark P. 2018. *An Introduction to the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service. Available at <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RS22389.pdf>.
- Kim, Kyeongsu. 2015. "Can Carsharing Meet the Mobility Needs for the Low-Income Neighborhoods? Lessons From Carsharing Usage Patterns in New York City." *Transportation Research Part A* 77: 249–60. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tra.2015.04.020>.
- King, Karen, Brian Hracs, and Mark Denstedt. 2010. *The Importance of Diversity to the Economic and Social Prosperity of Toronto*. Toronto: Martin Prosperity Institute. Available at http://martinprosperity.org/media/pdfs/Toronto_election_series-Importance_of_Diversity_to_Economic_and_Social_Prosperty.pdf.
- Kneebone, Elizabeth. 2017. "The Changing Geography of US Poverty." Testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee, Subcommittee on Human Resources, February 15. Brookings Institution. Available at www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-changing-geography-of-us-poverty.
- Kretzmann, John P., and John McKnight. 1993. *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets*. Evanston, Ill.: The Asset-Based Community Development Institute, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University. Available at <https://resources.depaul.edu/abcd-institute/publications/Documents/GreenBookIntro%202018.pdf>.
- Krizek, Kevin J. 2003. "Transit Supportive Home Loans: Theory, Application, and Prospects for Smart Growth." *Housing Policy Debate* 14(4): 657–77. Available at www.innovations.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/10960.pdf.
- Krumholz, Norman. 1982. "A Retrospective View of Equity Planning Cleveland 1969–1979." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 48(2): 163–74. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944368208976535.
- Kunkle, Frederick. 2015. "Pew: Multiracial Population Changing the Face of the U.S." *Washington Post*, June 11. Available at www.washingtonpost.com/news/local/wp/2015/06/11/pew-multiracial-population-changing-face-of-u-s.

- Lachapelle, Ugo. 2015. "Walk, Bicycle, and Transit Trips of Transit-Dependent and Choice Riders in the 2009 United States National Household Travel Survey." *Journal of Physical Activity and Health* 12(8): 1139–47. Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1123/jpah.2014-0052>.
- Lacy, Karyn R. 2007. *Blue-Chip Black: Race, Class, and Status in the New Black Middle Class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Larice, M.A. 2018. Personal communication, March 13. Salt Lake City.
- Lee, Aujean, Karna Wong, and Deirdre Pfeiffer. 2017. "On the Front Lines of Immigrant Homeownership: Asian American Nonprofits During the Great Recession." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 46(6): 1209–30. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0899764017713726>.
- Lee, Erika. 2003. *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Lee, Jasmine C., and Haeyoun Park. 2018. "15 Black Lives Ended in Confrontations with Police. 3 Officers Convicted." *The New York Times*, October 5. Available at www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/05/17/us/black-deaths-police.html.
- Leigh, Nancey G., and Edward J. Blakely. 2013. *Planning Local Economic Development: Theory and Practice*. 5th ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Lennar. 2018. "Next Gen: The Home Within a Home." Available at www.lennar.com/nextgen.
- Lewis, Oscar. 1960. "The Culture of Poverty in Mexico City: Two Case Studies." *Economic & Political Weekly* 12(23–24–25): 962–75. Available at www.epw.in/journal/1960/23-24-25/special-articles/culture-poverty-mexico-city-two-case-studies.html.
- Li, Chuo. 2014. "Ethnicity, Culture and Park Design: Case Studies of Urban Parks in American Chinatowns." *Journal of Urban Design* 19(2): 230–54. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13574809.2013.870464.
- Li, Wei. 2012. *Ethnoburb: The New Ethnic Community in Urban America*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Livingston, Gretchen. 2015. "Today's Multiracial Babies Reflect America's Changing Demographics." *Pew Research Center FactTank*, June 24. Available at www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/06/24/todays-multiracial-babies-reflect-americas-changing-demographics.
- Livingston, Gretchen, and Anna Brown. 2017. "Trends and Patterns in Inter marriage." *Pew Research Center Social & Demographic Trends Project*, May 18. Available at www.pewsocialtrends.org/2017/05/18/trends-and-patterns-in-intermarriage.
- Logan, John R. 2016. "Separate and Unequal: Residential Segregation." *Communities & Banking*, Winter. Available at www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/Data/Report/report0727.pdf.
- Logan, John R., and Brian Stults. 2011. "The Persistence of Segregation in the Metropolis: New Findings from the 2010 Census." US2010 Project. Available at <https://s4.ad.brown.edu/Projects/Diversity/Data/Report/report2.pdf>.
- Lopez, Gustavo, Kristen Bialik, and Jynnah Radford. 2018. "Key Findings about U.S. Immigrants." *Pew Research Center FactTank*, November 30. Available at www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/11/30/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants.
- Lorenzen, Matthew. 2017. "The Mixed Motives of Unaccompanied Child Migrants from Central America's Northern Triangle." *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 5(4): 744–67. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/233150241700500402>.
- Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia. 1995. "Urban Form and Social Context: Cultural Differentiation in Uses of Urban Parks." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 14(2): 89–102.
- . 2012. "Using Culture as a Competitive Advantage: Attracting Cultural Tourism in Latino Neighborhoods." In *Diálogos: Placemaking in Latino Communities*, edited by Michael Rios and Leonardo Vazquez, with Lucrezia Miranda, pp. 69–82. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Lowe, Jeffrey. 2017. "Black Lives Don't Matter in APA's Colorblind Planning: APA Rejected Legislative Policy Guide on Criminal Justice." *Progressive Planning* 203. Available at www.progressivecity.net/single-post/2017/02/24/BLACK-LIVES-DONT-MATTER-IN-APAS-COLORBLIND-PLANNING-APA-REJECTED-LEGISLATIVE-POLICY-GUIDE-ON-CRIMINAL-JUSTICE.
- Luft, Rachel E., and Shana Griffin. 2008. "A Status Report on Housing in New Orleans after Katrina: An Intersectional Analysis." In *Katrina and the Women of New Orleans*, edited by Beth Willinger. New Orleans: Tulane University's Newcomb College Center for Research on Women. Available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20130329154503/http://www.womenscolleges.org/files/pdfs/NCCROWreport08.pdf>.
- Lung-Amam, Willow. 2013. "That 'Monster House' Is My Home: The Social and Cultural Politics of Design Reviews and Regulations." *Journal of Urban Design* 18(2): 220–41. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13574809.2013.772880.
- . 2017. *Trespassers?: Asian Americans and the Battle for Suburbia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Macris, Natalie. 2002. *Planning in Plain English: Writing Tips for Urban and Environmental Planners*. Chicago: Planners Press.
- Marcuse, Peter. 2009. "From Critical Urban Theory to the Right to the City." *City* 13(2–3): 185–97. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13604810902982177.
- Massey, Douglas S., and Nancy A. Denton. 1985. "Spatial Assimilation as a Socioeconomic Outcome." *American Sociological Review* 50(1): 94–106. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/2095343.

- McCurdy, Stephen A., and Jonathan A. Kwan. 2012. "Agricultural Injury Risk among Rural California Public High School Students: Prospective Results." *American Journal of Industrial Medicine* 55(7): 631–42. Available at www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22069123.
- Medoff, Peter, and Holly Sklar. 1999. *Streets of Hope: The Fall and Rise of an Urban Neighborhood*. Boston: South End Press.
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. 2016. "The Murder of Michael Brown: Reading the Ferguson Grand Jury Transcript." *Social Text* 34(1): 126. Available at [https://read.dukeupress.edu/social-text/article/34/1%20\(126\)/49/31091/The-Murder-of-Michael-Brown-Reading-the-Ferguson](https://read.dukeupress.edu/social-text/article/34/1%20(126)/49/31091/The-Murder-of-Michael-Brown-Reading-the-Ferguson).
- Montgomery, David. 1968. "The Working Classes of the Pre-Industrial American City, 1780–1830." *Labor History* 9(1): 3–20. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00236566808584028.
- Morin, Rich, and Renee Stepler. 2016. "The Racial Confidence Gap in Police Performance." Pew Research Center, September 29. Available at www.pewsocialtrends.org/2016/09/29/the-racial-confidence-gap-in-police-performance.
- Mukhija, Vinit. 2014. "Outlaw In-Laws: Informal Second Units and the Stealth Reinvention of Single-Family Housing." In *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks and Day Labor*, edited by Vinit Mukhija and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, pp. 39–58. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qf82x.17.
- Mukhija, Vinit, and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris. 2014. "Introduction." In *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks and Day Labor*, edited by Vinit Mukhija and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, pp. 1–17. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qf82x.17.
- Mumford, Kevin. 2008. *Newark: A History of Race, Rights, and Riots in America*. New York: NYU Press.
- Murdie, Robert A., and Carlos Teixeira. 2011. "The Impact of Gentrification on Ethnic Neighbourhoods in Toronto: A Case Study of Little Portugal." *Urban Studies* 48(1): 61–83. Available at www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/21174893.
- Myers, Dowell, William C. Baer, and Seong-Youn Choi. 1996. "The Changing Problem of Overcrowded Housing." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 62(1): 66–84. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944369608975671.
- Narayanan, Jayanth. 2018. "Diversity Is Good for Our Communities. Here's the Evidence." *World Economic Forum Blog*, April 23. Available at www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/04/people-who-live-in-diverse-neighbourhoods-are-more-helpful-here-s-how-we-know.
- National Center for Cultural Competence (NCCC). 2004. "Definitions of Cultural Competence." *Curricula Enhancement Module Series*. Available at <https://nccc.georgetown.edu/curricula/culturalcompetence.html>.
- National Center for Safe Routes to School. 2019. "Safe Routes." University of North Carolina Highway Safety Research Center. Available at www.saferoutesinfo.org.
- National Community Land Trust Network (NCLTN). 2018. "Program Directory." Available at <http://cltnetwork.org/directory>.
- National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC). 2018. "National Housing Trust Fund." Available at <https://nlihc.org/issues/nhtf>.
- Nettler, Jonathan. 2013. "Sick of Speeding, Baltimoreans Deploy DIY Traffic Calming." *Planetizen Popular News*, December 30. Available at www.planetizen.com/node/66674.
- Newman, Oscar. 1973. *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention Through Urban Design*. New York: Macmillan.
- Ninan, Reena, and Mary Marsh. 2013. "Hottest New Business Venture: Food Trucks." *ABC News*, March 20. Available at <https://abcnews.go.com/Business/hottest-business-venture-food-trucks/story?id=18774278>.
- Norton, William, and Margaret Walton-Roberts. 2013. *Cultural Geography: Environments, Landscapes, Identities, Inequalities*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ogden (Utah), City of. 2018. "Home Exterior Loan Program." Available at <http://ogdencityhomes.com>.
- Orfield, Myron. 2006. "Land Use and Housing Policies to Reduce Concentrated Poverty and Racial Segregation." *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 33(3): 101–59. Available at https://scholarship.law.umn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=imo_studies.
- Orfield, Myron, and Thomas F. Luce. 2013. "America's Racially Diverse Suburbs: Opportunities and Challenges." *Housing Policy Debate*. Available at https://scholarship.law.umn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1056&context=imo_studies.
- Pader, Ellen. 2002. "Housing Occupancy Standards: Inscribing Ethnicity and Family Relations on the Land." *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 19(4): 300–18. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/43030627.
- Page, Marianne. 1995. "Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Urban Housing Markets: Evidence from a Recent Audit Study." *Journal of Urban Economics* 38(2): 183–206. Available at www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0094119085710285.
- Partnership for Working Families. 2015. "Community Benefits 101." Available at www.forworkingfamilies.org/page/community-benefits-101.
- Passel, Jeffrey, and D'Vera Cohn. 2018. "U.S. Unauthorized Immigration Total Lowest in a Decade." Pew Research Center, November 27. Available at www.pewhispanic.org/2018/11/27/u-s-unauthorized-immigrant-total-dips-to-lowest-level-in-a-decade.

- Passel, Jeffrey S., Gretchen Livingston, and D'Vera Cohn. 2012. "Explaining Why Minority Births Now Outnumber White Births." Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project, May 17. Available at www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/05/17/explaining-why-minority-births-now-outnumber-white-births.
- Pattillo-McCoy, Mary. 2000. "The Limits of Out-Migration for the Black Middle Class." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22(3): 225–41. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1111/0735-2166.00054.
- Pendall, Rolf, Evelyn Blumenberg, and Casey Dawkins. 2016. "What If Cities Combined Car-Based Solutions with Transit to Improve Access to Opportunity?" The Urban Institute, Metropolitan Housing and Communities Policy Center, June. Available at www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/81571/2000818-What-if-Cities-Combined-Car-Based-Solutions-with-Transit-to-Improve-Access-to-Opportunity.pdf.
- Pestieau, Katherine, and Marcia Wallace. 2003. "Challenge and Opportunities for Planning in the Ethno-Culturally Diverse City: A Collection of Papers—Introduction." *Planning Theory and Practice* 4(3): 253–58.
- Pew Research Center. 2015. "Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to U.S., Driving Population Growth and Change Through 2065: Views of Immigration's Impact on U.S. Society Mixed." September 25. Available at www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/28/modern-immigration-wave-brings-59-million-to-u-s-driving-population-growth-and-change-through-2065/.
- . 2016a. "How Blacks and Whites View the State of Race in America." June 24. Available at www.pewsocialtrends.org/interactives/state-of-race-in-america.
- . 2016b. "On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart: 1. Demographic Trends and Economic Well-Being." Available at www.pewsocialtrends.org/2016/06/27/1-demographic-trends-and-economic-well-being.
- . 2016c. "On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites are Worlds Apart: 3. Discrimination and Racial Inequality." June 27. Available at www.pewsocialtrends.org/2016/06/27/3-discrimination-and-racial-inequality.
- . 2018. "Facts on U.S. Immigrants, 2016." Pew Research Center Hispanic Trends Project, May 3. Available at www.pewhispanic.org/2018/09/14/facts-on-u-s-immigrants.
- Pfeiffer, Deirdre. 2012. "Has Exurban Growth Enabled Greater Racial Equity in Neighborhood Quality? Evidence from the Los Angeles Region." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34(4): 347–71. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2011.00596.x.
- . 2016. "Racial Equity in the Post-Civil Rights Suburbs? Evidence from US Regions 2000–2012." *Urban Studies* 53(4): 799–817. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0042098014563652>.
- Pfeiffer, Deirdre, and Joanna Lucio. 2015. "An Unexpected Geography of Opportunity in the Wake of the Foreclosure Crisis: Low-Income Renters in Investor-Purchased Foreclosures in Phoenix, Arizona." *Urban Geography* 36(8): 1197–1220. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02723638.2015.1053201.
- Pickett, Kate E., and Richard Wilkinson. 2015. "Income Inequality and Health: A Causal Review." *Social Science & Medicine* 128: 316–26. Available at www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/25577953.
- Planetizen. 2014. *Guide to Graduate Urban Planning Programs*. Planetizen Press. Available at <https://store.planetizen.com/products/guide-to-graduate-urban-planning-programs-5th-edition>.
- Portes, Alejandro. 2000. "Globalization From Below: The Rise of Transnational Communities." In *The Ends of Globalization: Bringing Society Back In*, edited by Don Kalb et al. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Portes, Alejandro, and József Böröcz. 1989. "Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical Perspectives on Its Determinants and Modes of Incorporation." *The International Migration Review* 23(3): 606–30. Available at www.rci.rutgers.edu/~jborocz/apbjmr.pdf.
- Powell, Kashif Jerome. 2016. "Making #BlackLivesMatter: Michael Brown, Eric Garner, and the Specters of Black Life—Toward a Hauntology of Blackness." *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies* 16(3): 253–60. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1532708616634770>.
- Price, Marie. 2008. *Migrants To the Metropolis: The Rise of Immigrant Gateway Cities*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press.
- Project for Public Spaces (PPS). 2018. "What is Placemaking?" Available at www.pps.org/article/what-is-placemaking.
- Puget Sound Regional Council (PSRC). 2015. "Case Study: Oakland, CA TOD: Fruitvale BART Station." Available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20160711141704/www.psrc.org/growth/housing/hip/case-studies/oakland>.
- Pulido, Laura. 2000. "Rethinking Environmental Racism: White privilege and Urban Development in Southern California." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90(1): 12–40. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1111/0004-5608.00182.
- Putnam, Robert D. 2001. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Touchstone Books.
- Qadeer, Mohammad Abdul. 2016. *Multicultural Cities: Toronto, New York, and Los Angeles*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division.
- Radford, Gail. 1997. *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Ramsey-Musolf, Darrel. 2017. "State Mandates, Housing Elements, and Low-Income Housing Production." *Journal of Planning Literature* 32(2): 117–40. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0885412217693569>.
- Reynolds, Richard. n.d. "Guerrilla Gardening." Available at www.guerillagardening.org.
- Rickford, Russell. 2015. "Black Lives Matter: Toward a Modern Practice of Mass Struggle." *New Labor Forum* 25(1): 34–42. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1095796015620171>.
- Riggs, Erin. 2018. "Clean Water Access Challenges in the United States." *UNC School of Government Environmental Finance Blog*, February 13. Available at <http://efc.web.unc.edu/2018/02/13/clean-water-access-challenges-in-the-united-states>.
- Rios, Michael. 2014. "Learning From Informal Practices: Implications For Urban Design." In *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks and Day Labor*, edited by Vinit Mukhija and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, pp. 173–92. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qf82x.17.
- Rios, Michael, Leonardo Vazquez, and Lucrezia Miranda. 2012. "Introduction: Place as Space, Action, and Identity." In *Diálogos: Placemaking in Latino Communities*, edited by Michael Rios and Leonardo Vazquez, with Lucrezia Miranda, pp. 1–19. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Rojas, James. 2014. "Latino Placemaking: How the Civil Rights Movement Reshaped East LA." Project for Public Spaces, March 4. Available at www.pps.org/article/latino-placemaking-how-the-civil-rights-movement-reshaped-east-la.
- Rossi, Peter H., and Eleanor Weber. 1996. "The Social Benefits of Homeownership: Empirical Evidence from National Surveys." *Housing Policy Debate* 7(1): 1–35. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10511482.1996.9521212.
- Rothstein, Richard. 2017. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Sage Computing, Inc. 2008. *Accessory Dwelling Units: Case Study*. Prepared for U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research. Available at www.huduser.gov/portal/publications/adu.pdf.
- Saldivar-Tanaka, Laura, and Marianne E. Krasny. 2004. "Culturing Community Development, Neighborhood Open Space, and Civic Agriculture: The Case of Latino Community Gardens in New York City." *Agriculture and Human Values* 21: 399–412. Available at <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10460-003-1248-9>.
- Samuel, Larry R. 2012. *The American Dream: A Cultural History*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Sanbonmatsu, Lisa, Jens Ludwig, Lawrence F. Katz, Lisa A. Gennetian, Greg J. Duncan, Ronald C. Kessler, Emma Adam, Thomas W. McDade, and Stacy Tessler Lindau. 2011. *Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing Demonstration Program: Final Impacts Evaluation*. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research. Available at www.huduser.org/portal/publications/pubasst/MTOFHD.html.
- Sanchez, Thomas W., Rich Stolz, and Jacinta S. Ma. 2003. *Moving to Equity: Addressing Inequitable Effects of Transportation Policies on Minorities*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University. Available at <https://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/metro-and-regional-inequalities/transportation/moving-to-equity-addressing-inequitable-effects-of-transportation-policies-on-minorities>.
- Sandercock, Leonie. 2003. *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century*. 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Sanders, Tonya N. 2014. "Formation of Faith-Based Cross-Sector Partnerships: A Game Changing Collaboration." *International Journal of Community Development* 2(2): 13–22. Available at <https://wscholars.com/index.php/ijcd/article/view/598>.
- Sandoval, Gerardo F. 2012. "Transnational Placemaking in Small-Town America." In *Diálogos: Placemaking in Latino Communities*, edited by Michael Rios and Leonardo Vazquez, with Lucrezia Miranda, pp. 50–66. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Satter, Beryl. 2009. *Family Properties: Race, Real Estate, and the Exploitation of Black Urban America*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Saville, Greg, and Gerry Cleveland. 1997. "2ND Generation CPTED: An Antidote to the Social Y2K Virus of Urban Design." Paper presented at the 2nd Annual International CPTED Conference, Orlando, Florida, December 3–5. Available at www.veilig-ontwerp-beheer.nl/publicaties/2nd-generation-cpted-an-antidote-to-the-social-y2k-virus-of-urban-design.
- Scheepers, C.E., G.C.W. Wendel-Vos, J.M. den Broeder, E.E.M.M. van Kempen, P.J.V. van Wesemael, and A.J. Schuit. 2014. "Shifting from Car to Active Transport: A Systematic Review of the Effectiveness of Interventions." *Transportation Research Part A* 70(2014): 264–80. Available at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0965856414002493>.
- Schill, Michael, and Susan Wachter. 2001. "Principles to Guide Housing Policy at the Beginning of the New Millennium." *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, January.
- Schlichtman, John Joe, Jason Patch, and Marc Lamont Hill. 2017. *Gentrifier*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division.
- Schwartz, Alex F. 2015. *Housing Policy in the United States*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge.

- Searcey, Dione. 2014. "No Picket Fence: Younger Adults Opting to Rent." *The New York Times*, October 22. Available at www.nytimes.com/2014/10/23/business/no-picket-fence-younger-adults-opting-to-rent.html.
- Shaheen, Susan, Adam P. Cohen, and Elliot Martin. 2010. "Carsharing Parking Policy: A Review of North American Practices and San Francisco Bay Area Case Study." *2010 Transportation Research Record*, March 15. Available at <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9wq3x6vt>.
- Shapiro, Thomas M. 2006. "Race, Homeownership and Wealth." *Washington University Journal of Law & Policy* 20: 53–74. Available at <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/cb8d/2119b83d479cea5d2054ea74e3b5a33e5fbf.pdf>.
- Sharkey, Patrick. 2013. *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress Towards Racial Inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sherer, Paul M. 2006. "Why America Needs More City Parks and Open Space." San Francisco: The Trust for Public Land. Available at https://conservationtools-production.s3.amazonaws.com/library_item_files/729/663/The_Benefit_of_Parks_Why_America_Needs_More_City_Parks___Open_Space.pdf.
- Showalter, Susan, and Steven Chester. 2015. "Harnessing the Power of Tactical Urbanism for Planning Success." *PAS Memo*, September/October. Available at www.planning.org/pas/memo/2015/sep.
- Silberberg, Susan, and Katie Lorah. 2013. *Places in the Making: How Placemaking Builds Places and Communities*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Available at <https://community-wealth.org/content/places-making-how-placemaking-builds-places-and-communities>.
- Simpson, Sheryl-Ann. 2015. "Prisons, Policing and Planning: Making the Connections Visible." *Progressive Planning* 203. Available at www.plannersnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/PPM_Sp2015_Simpson.pdf.
- Smith, Aaron, and Monica Anderson. 2018. "Social Media Use in 2018." Pew Research Center, March 1. Available at www.pewinternet.org/2018/03/01/social-media-use-in-2018.
- Smith, Neil. 1996. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. New York: Routledge.
- . 2008. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*. 3rd ed. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.
- Social Explorer. 2018. "Foreign-Born Population." Available at <https://socialexplorer.com>.
- Solitare, Laura, and Michael Greenberg. 2002. "Is the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency Brownfields Assessment Pilot Program Environmentally Just?" *Environmental Health Perspectives* 110(Suppl 2): 249–57. Available at www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/11929735.
- Soule, Jeffrey, Kimberley Hodgson, and Kelly A. Beavers. 2011. "Community Character: How Arts and Cultural Strategies Create, Reinforce, and Enhance Sense of Place." *Arts and Culture Briefing Papers 03*. Chicago: American Planning Association. Available at www.planning.org/publications/document/9147999.
- Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). 2017. *Ten Ways To Fight Hate: A Community Resource Guide*. Montgomery, Ala.: Southern Poverty Law Center. Available at www.splcenter.org/20170814/ten-ways-fight-hate-community-response-guide.
- Spector, Julian. 2015. "L.A.'s Bold Plan to Bring Car-Share to the Poor." *City Lab*, July 30. Available at www.citylab.com/solutions/2015/07/las-bold-plan-to-bring-car-share-to-the-poor/400031.
- Spirn, Anne Whiston. 2005. "Restoring Mill Creek: Landscape Literacy, Environmental Justice, and City Planning and Design." *Landscape Research* 30(3): 395–413. Available at www.annewhistonspirn.com/pdf/SpirnMillCreek2005.pdf.
- Squires, Gregory D., ed. 2017. *The Fight for Fair Housing: Causes, Consequences, and Future Implications of the 1968 Federal Fair Housing Act*. New York: Routledge.
- Statista. 2018. "U.S. Gross Domestic Product." Available at www.statista.com/statistics/216985/forecast-of-us-gross-domestic-product.
- Steil, Justin, and Aditi Mehta. 2017. "When Prison Is the Classroom: Collaborative Learning about Urban Inequality." *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, October. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0739456X17734048>.
- Stoker, Philip, Andrea Garfinkel-Castro, Melekidzedek Khayesi, Wilson Otero, Martin N. Mwangi, Margie Peden, and Reid Ewing. 2015. "Pedestrian Safety and the Built Environment: A Review of the Risk Factors." *Journal of Planning Literature* 30(4): 1–16. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0885412215595438>.
- Suminski, Richard R., Erin K. Connolly, Linda E. May, Jason Wasserman, Norma Olvera, and Rebecca E. Lee. 2012. "Park Quality in Racial/Ethnic Minority Neighborhoods." *Environmental Justice* 5(6): 271–8. Available at www.liebertpub.com/doi/abs/10.1089/env.2012.0013.
- Suro, Robert, Jill H. Wilson, and Audrey Singer. 2011. "Immigration and Poverty in America's Suburbs." Metropolitan Opportunity Series, August. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution. Available at www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/0804_immigration_suro_wilson_singer.pdf.
- Sweet, Elizabeth L., and Harley F. Etienne. 2011. "Commentary: Diversity in Urban Planning Education and Practice." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31(3): 332–39. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0739456X11414715>.

- Talen, Emily. 2006. "Neighborhood-Level Social Diversity: Insights from Chicago." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 72(4): 431–46. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944360608976764.
- Tavernise, Sabrina. 2016. "A Toilet but No Proper Plumbing: A Reality in 500,000 U.S. Homes." *The New York Times*, September 26. Available at www.nytimes.com/2016/09/27/health/plumbing-united-states-poverty.html.
- Taylor, Paul. 2012. "Hispanics Say They Have the Worst of a Bad Economy: III. Latinos and Homeownership." Pew Research Center's Hispanic Trends Project, January 26. Available at www.pewhispanic.org/2012/01/26/iii-latinos-and-homeownership.
- Taylor, Paul, Jeffrey Passel, Richard Fry, Richard Morin, Wendy Wang, Gabriel Velasco, and Daniel Dockterman. 2010. *The Return of the Multi-Generational Family Household*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center. Available at www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2010/10/752-multi-generational-families.pdf.
- Temple (Texas), City of. 2018. "Low Income Housing Tax Credit." Available at www.ci.temple.tx.us/2342/Low-Income-Housing-Tax-Credit.
- Tervalon, Melanie, and Jann Murray-García. 1998. "Cultural Humility versus Cultural Competence: A Critical Distinction in Defining Physician Training Outcomes in Multicultural Education." *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* 9(2): 117–25. Available at www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/10073197.
- Tester, June M., Stephanie A. Stevens, Irene H. Yen, and Barbara L. Laraia. 2010. "An Analysis of Public Health Policy and Legal Issues Relevant to Mobile Food Vending." *American Journal of Public Health* 100(11): 2038–46. Available at www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2951932.
- Thaden, Emily. 2012. *Results of The 2011 Comprehensive CLT Survey*. Nashville, Tenn.: The Housing Fund, Vanderbilt University. Available at <https://cltnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/2011-Comprehensive-CLT-Survey.pdf>.
- Thaden, Emily, and Ruoniu Wang. *Inclusionary Housing in the United States: Prevalence, Impact, and Practices*. Lincoln Institute of Land Policy Working Paper WP17ET1. Available at www.lincolninst.edu/publications/working-papers/inclusionary-housing-united-states.
- Thiel, Julia. 2015. "Is the Bloomingdale Trail a Path to Displacement?" *Chicago Reader*, June 4. Available at www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/bloomingdale-trail-606-logan-square-humboldt-park-displacement/Content?oid=17899462.
- Thomas, June Manning, and Marsha Ritzdorf, eds. 1996. *Urban Planning and the African-American Community: In the Shadows*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Thompson, Gregory, Jeffrey Brown, and Torsha Bhattacharya. 2012. "What Really Matters for Increasing Transit Ridership: Understanding the Determinants of Transit Ridership Demand in Broward County, Florida." *Urban Studies* 49(15): 3327–45. Available at www.researchgate.net/publication/258199050_What_Really_Matters_for_Increasing_Transit_Ridership_Understanding_the_Determinants_of_Transit_Ridership_Demand_in_Broward_County_Florida.
- Tiarachristie, Giovania G. 2016. "Elephant in the Planning Room: Overcoming Barriers to Recruitment and Retention of Planners of Color." New York: Pratt Institute School of Architecture. Available at www.nyplanning.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Tiarachristie-Thesis_Elephant-in-the-Planning-Room_080716.pdf.
- Tinsley, Howard E.A., Diane J. Tinsley, and Chelsey E. Croskeys. 2002. "Park Usage, Social Milieu, and Psychosocial Benefits of Park Use Reported by Older Urban Park Users From Four Ethnic Groups." *Leisure Sciences* 24(2): 199–218. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01490400252900158.
- Toole, Jennifer L., Martin T. Pietrucha, and Jeff Davis. 1999. "FHWA University Level Course on Bicycle and Pedestrian Transportation." McLean, Va.: Federal Highway Administration, Office of Research and Development. Available at https://safety.fhwa.dot.gov/ped_bike/univcourse/instrtoc.cfm.
- Tuller, David. 2018. "Housing and Health: The Role of Inclusionary Zoning." *Health Affairs Health Policy Brief*. June 7. Available at www.healthaffairs.org/doi/10.1377/hpb20180313.668759/full.
- Tummers, Lidewij. 2015. "Understanding Co-Housing From a Planning Perspective: Why and How?" *Urban Research & Practice* 8(1): 64–78. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17535069.2015.1011427.
- Tyner, James. 2011. "Nightmarish Landscapes: The Orwellian World of Malcolm X." In *Race, Ethnicity, and Place in a Changing America*, edited by John W. Fraizer, Eugene F. Tettey-Fio, and Norah F. Henry, pp. 169–76. 2nd ed. New York: State University of New York Press.
- UIC Great Cities Institute. 2018. "Participatory Budgeting Chicago." Available at www.pbchicago.org.
- Ulibarri, Nicole, and Tyler A. Scott. 2017. "Linking Network Structure to Collaborative Governance." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 27(1): 163–81. Available at <https://academic.oup.com/jpart/article-abstract/27/1/163/2629285>.
- Umamoto, Karen. 2001. "Walking in Another's Shoes: Epistemological Challenges in Participatory Planning." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 21(1): 17–31. Available at www.researchgate.net/publication/238430129_Walking_in_Another's_Shoes.
- USA.gov. 2018. "Repairing and Improving A Home." Available at www.usa.gov/repairing-home.

- U.S. Census Bureau. 2010. "Percentage of People Age 5 and Older Who Spoke a Language Other than English in 2010." Available at www.census.gov/geo/maps-data/maps/datamapper.html.
- . 2013. "Limited English-Speaking Households: American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates." Available at <https://factfinder.census.gov>.
- . 2016. "American FactFinder." Available at <http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml>.
- . 2017a. "ACS Demographic And Housing Estimates: 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table DP05." Available at <https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml#none>.
- . 2017b. "Median Incomes in the Last 12 Months, Households: American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates." Available at <https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml>.
- . 2017c. "The Digital Divide: Percentage of Households by Broadband Internet Subscription, Computer Type, Race and Hispanic Origin." Census Infographics & Visualizations Library. Available at www.census.gov/library/visualizations/2017/comm/internet.html.
- . 2017d. "Types of Computer and Internet Subscriptions, S2801." Available at <https://factfinder.census.gov>.
- U.S. Department of Education. 2018. "Public High School Graduation Rates." *The Condition of Education*. Institute for Education Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics. Available at https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_coi.asp.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Community Services (USDHHS OCS). 2017. "About the Community Economic Development (CED) Program." Available at www.acf.hhs.gov/ocs/programs/ced/about.
- U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (U.S. HUD). 2018. "About Housing Trust Fund." Available at <https://www.hudexchange.info/programs/htf/about>.
- . n.d. "HUD Exchange: State Community Development Block Grant Colonias Set-Aside." Available at www.hudexchange.info/programs/cdbg-colonias.
- U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research (U.S. HUD PD&R). 2017. "Defining Housing Affordability." *PD&R Edge*, August 14. Available at www.huduser.gov/portal/pdredge/pdr-edge-featd-article-081417.html.
- . 2018. "Low-Income Housing Tax Credits." Available at www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/lihtc.html.
- U.S. Department of Labor. 2018. "Compliance Assistance—Wages and the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA)." Wage and Hour Division. Available at www.dol.gov/whd/flsa.
- U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. 2016. *State of the Border Region: Indicators Interim Report 2016. Border 2020: US–Mexico Environmental Program*. Available at www.epa.gov/border2020/state-border-region-2016-indicators-interim-report-december-2016.
- . 2018. "Environmental Justice." Available at www.epa.gov/environmentaljustice.
- U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service (USFWS). 2003. "Vieques National Wildlife Refuge Welcomes the Public to the Eastern End of the Island." News Release, April 30. Available at www.fws.gov/news/ShowNews.cfm?ID=E60CD5A-3C63-49D9-B7E55CE8242845A.
- U.S. Small Business Association (U.S. SBA). 2017. "Frequently Asked Questions About Small Business." SBA Office of Advocacy, August. Available at www.sba.gov/sites/default/files/advocacy/SB-FAQ-2017-WEB.pdf.
- Valenzuela, Abel. "Regulating Day Labor: Worker Centers and Organizing in the Informal Economy." In *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks and Day Labor*, edited by Vinit Mukhija and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, pp. 261–76. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qf82x.17.
- Vallianatos, Mark. 2014. "Legalize L.A. Street Vendors." *Los Angeles Times*, October 14. Available at www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-vallianatos-los-angeles-sidewalk-vendors-20141015-story.html.
- Vazquez, Leo. 2009. "Cultural Competency: A Critical Skill Set For The 21st Century Planner." *Planetizen*, December 21. Available at www.planetizen.com/node/42164.
- Vespa, Jonathan, David M. Armstrong, and Lauren Medina. 2018. "Demographic Turning Points for the United States: Population Projections for 2020 to 2060." U.S. Census Bureau Population Estimates and Projections. P25-1144, March. Available at www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2018/demo/P25_1144.pdf.
- Vidler, Anthony. 1994. *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Vitiello, Domenic. 2009. "The Migrant Metropolis and American Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 75(2): 245–55. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944360902724496.
- Wang, Wendy. 2015. "Interracial Marriage: Who Is 'Marrying Out'?" *Pew Research Center FactTank*, June 12. Available at www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/06/12/interracial-marriage-who-is-marrying-out.
- Ward, Peter M. 2014. "The Reproduction of Informality in Low-Income Self-Help Housing Communities." In *The Informal American City: Beyond Taco Trucks and Day Labor*, edited by Vinit Mukhija and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, pp. 59–78. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qf82x.17.

- Warner, Mildred E. 2007. "Child Care and Economic Development: Markets, Households and Public Policy." *International Journal of Economic Development* 9(3): 111–21. Available at <http://s3.amazonaws.com/mildredwarner.org/attachments/000/000/277/original/578aa5c4b9e26523941c52d9c25cf62b>.
- Warren, Andrew, Anita Kramer, Stephen Blank, and Michael Shari. 2014. *Emerging Trends in Real Estate 2014*. Washington, D.C.: PricewaterhouseCoopers and the Urban Land Institute. Available at <https://uli.org/wp-content/uploads/ULI-Documents/Emerging-Trends-in-Real-Estate-Americas-2014.pdf>.
- Watts, Jonathan. 2015. "One Murder Every Hour: How El Salvador Became the Homicide Capital of the World." *The Guardian*, August 22. Available at www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/22/el-salvador-worlds-most-homicidal-place.
- Wheeler, Ronald. 2015. "Michael Brown, Eric Garner and Law Librarianship." *Law Library Journal* 107. Available at https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2716114.
- Wiese, Andrew. 2005. *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Wilkinson, Richard G., and Kate E. Pickett. 2009. "Income Inequality and Social Dysfunction." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35(1): 493–511. Available at www.researchgate.net/publication/228173822_Income_Inequality_and_Social_Dysfunction.
- Williams, David R., Michelle Sternthal, and Rosalind J. Wright. 2009. "Social Determinants: Taking the Social Context of Asthma Seriously." *Pediatrics* 123(Supplement 3): S174–84. Available at http://pediatrics.aappublications.org/content/123/Supplement_3/S174.
- Wilson, Jill H., and Audrey Singer. 2011. "Immigrants in 2010 Metropolitan America: A Decade of Change." State of Metropolitan America Series. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program. Available at www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/1013_immigration_wilson_singer.pdf.
- Winick, Bradley, and Martin Jaffe. 2015. *Planning Aging-Supportive Communities*. Planning Advisory Service Report 579. Chicago: American Planning Association. Available at www.planning.org/publications/report/9026902.
- Wolch, Jennifer R., Jason Bryne, and Joshua P. Newell. 2014. "Urban Green Space, Public Health, and Environmental Justice: The Challenge of Making Cities 'Just Green Enough.'" *Landscape and Urban Planning* 125(May 2014): 234–44. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2014.01.017>.
- Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO). 2018. "Key Debates About Street Vending." Available at www.wiego.org/informal-economy/key-debates-about-street-vending.
- Woolf, Steven H., Laudan Aron, Lisa Dubay, Sarah M. Simon, Emily Zimmerman, and Kim X. Luk. 2015. "How Are Income and Wealth Linked to Health and Longevity?" *Income and Health Initiative: Brief 1*. Urban Institute and Virginia Commonwealth University. Available at www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/49116/2000178-How-are-Income-and-Wealth-Linked-to-Health-and-Longevity.pdf.
- World Health Organization (WHO). 2013. *Pedestrian Safety: A Road Safety Manual for Decision-Makers and Practitioners*. Geneva: World Health Organization. Available at www.who.int/roadsafety/projects/manuals/pedestrian/en.
- Wyly, Elvin K., and Daniel J. Hammel. 2004. "Gentrification, Segregation, and Discrimination in the American Urban System." *Environment and Planning A* 36(7): 1215–41. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1068/a3610>.
- Yerena, Anaid. 2015. "The Impact of Advocacy Organizations on Low-Income Housing Policy in U.S. Cities." *Urban Affairs Review* 51(6): 843–70. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1078087415571451>.
- Young, Iris Marion. 2011. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Yu, Wan. 2007. "Housing Experiences and Trajectories Among Ethnobarban Chinese in Los Angeles: Achieving Chinese Immigrants' American Dream." In *The Housing and Economic Experiences of Immigrants in U.S. and Canadian Cities*, edited by Carlos Teixeira and Wei Li, pp. 176–204. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Zapata, Marisa A. 2009. "Deliberating Across Differences: Planning Futures in Cross-Cultural Spaces." *Policy and Society* 28(3): 197–209. Available at www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1016/j.polysoc.2009.08.002.
- Zapata, Marisa A., and Lisa K. Bates. 2015. "Equity Planning Revisited." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 35(3): 245–48. Available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0739456X15589967>.
- Zong, Jie, Jeanne Batalova, and Jeffrey Hallock. 2018. "Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States." *Migration Policy Institute Spotlight*, February 2. Available at www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states.
- Zukin, Sharon. 2011. *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We appreciate the work of American Planning Association's Planning Advisory Service and Research Department staff, past and present, in producing this report. Thanks to David Rouse, FAICP, for being a champion of this topic from day one; Camille Fink, PHD, for guiding us through the proposal process, sending drafts for peer review, and editing the first iterations of the manuscript; Joseph DeAngelis, AICP, and Anna Read, AICP, for providing expert comments; and, finally, Ann Dilleuth, AICP, who is the best editor we know and kept us all going.

We are especially grateful for the time that peer reviewers from APA's Diversity Committee gave to improve the report, including Fleming El-Amin, AICP; Marcella Bondie Keenan; Miguel Vazquez, AICP; and especially Libby Tyler, FAICP, as well as Stacy Harwood. Thanks to Will Smiley at the University Writing Center at the University of Utah for his copyediting assistance.

We would like to once again acknowledge those who wrote the sidebars on various topics: Bruce Parker, AICP; Lisa Turner DeVera, PHD; Tisha Holmes, PHD; Jake Wegmann, PHD; Willow Lung-Amam, PHD; Erica Gutierrez; Jesus Herrera; Edna Ledesma; Cecilia Giusti, PHD; April Jackson, PHD; James Rojas; Tam Guy; Alvaro Huerta, PHD; and Giovania Tiarachristie. We also thank Hassan Ameli at the University of Utah's City and Metropolitan Planning Department for creating graphics for this report.



American Planning Association

Creating Great Communities for All

Photo by PeopleImages/Getty Images.com

MEMBERSHIP

Includes PAS Publications!

All APA members get digital access to every new Planning Advisory Service publication—each one filled with expert guidance on big planning challenges, relevant research, and best practices.

Digital PAS publications include:

PAS Reports | *PAS Memo* | *PAS QuickNotes*

PAS Essential Info Packets

Members also get unlimited access to the entire PAS online archive. Hundreds of resources are available for download.



Learn more at planning.org/pas

